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HOLBEIN'S PORTRAIT OF A MUSICIAN · BY ARTHUR POPE

THE Portrait of a Musician by Holbein, recently acquired by Mr. Henry Goldman of New York, is a notable addition to the paintings by that master in America. It is a well-known picture and comes from the collection of Sir John Ramsden, Bt., of Bulstrode Park, Buckinghamshire. It is possibly the same picture as the *Ritratto d'un Musico* included in the inventory of the collections of Alethea, Countess of Arundel, in 1654¹; and, according to Chamberlain in his important book on Holbein, "either this picture or a replica of it, was in the Ralph Bernal sale, 1855, when it was sold to Mr. Morant for one hundred guineas."² It was first published by Dr. Paul Ganz in October, 1911. It is also reproduced and discussed in Ganz's book in the "Klassiker der Kunst" series,³ and in Chamberlain's work already mentioned. Mr. Sidney J. A. Churchill has contributed an additional note on the jeweled object attached to the black cord worn about the neck of the person represented in the picture, showing that it is a pen-knife, containing also other small instruments such as tweezers or awls, instead of the whistle supposed by Ganz.⁴

At one time the picture was supposed to be a portrait of Lord Vaux, on account of a resemblance to a drawing of Lord Vaux at Windsor;⁵ Ganz, on the other hand, has attempted to identify the sitter with Jean de Dinteville, who is one of the men represented in the famous picture of the Ambassadors in the National Gallery, and

¹ Paul Ganz, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XX, October, 1911, pp. 31-32.

² Arthur B. Chamberlain, "Hans Holbein the Younger," New York, 1913, Vol. II, pp. 51-53; Pl. 10.

³ Paul Ganz, "Hans Holbein d. J." (*Klassiker der Kunst*) Stuttgart and Leipsic, 1912, pl. 137, and p. 244.

⁴ *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XX, January, 1912, p. 239.

⁵ Reproduced in Chamberlain, Vol. II, Pl. 35, facing p. 258.

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is supposed to be represented also in a drawing at Windsor.¹ There are, to be sure, certain resemblances between all three portraits, but it must be borne in mind that where the dress and the manner of wearing the hair and beard are so different from the fashions of the present day, resemblances are apt to be more striking than differences, and it is especially easy to err in the identification of portraits of unknown persons, when, as in the case of the portrait in the Ambassadors and the Windsor drawing, a lapse of several years must be supposed to account for changed appearance. To the present writer it seems extremely doubtful if the drawing at Windsor, which Miss Hervey supposes to be Dinteville, is indeed he; and it is still more questionable if the musician shown in the picture we are considering should be identified either with the Dinteville of the Ambassadors or with the drawing at Windsor. A careful examination of the formation of the brow and nose in these different portraits will, I believe, confirm this opinion. For similar reasons it is impossible to connect this portrait with the drawing of Lord Vaux. Chamberlain agrees in declining to accept this picture as a portrait of Dinteville, although the reason he gives, that "Dinteville's subsequent visits to England were all short ones, of only a few weeks duration, during which time there could be little opportunity for sitting for his portrait," is not very convincing, for it is certain that many, if not indeed all, of Holbein's portraits were painted on the basis of drawings which required a single sitting of only a few hours.

In every way Mr. Goldman's picture is typical of Holbein at his best. Its calm and sensitive but searching and forceful characterization is—as far as characterization can go in the representation of the look of a man at a single moment of time—a rendering not merely of a passing mood but of a prevailing and dominant attitude of mind. The design is especially happy in the placing of the figure and accessory objects within the square outline; the line of the shoulder leading up to the mass of the head is echoed with charming felicity in the open book and the hand holding the lute in the corresponding diagonal corner. The surface of the panel is a lustrous enamel, in splendid condition. The rich black of the coat, the dull scarlet of the table cloth and the yellow of the lute, set off by a

¹ Mary F. S. Hervey, "Holbein's Ambassadors," London, 1900, p. 139; also Burlington Magazine, Vol. V, p. 413.

yellow-green curtain, give a color effect perhaps a bit lighter and gayer than in most of his male portraits, but distinctly Holbein's. Moreover the details are painted with the unhesitating thoroughness and affection, but without undue emphasis, characteristic of the master.

In general style the portrait comes closest to those painted just after Holbein's return to England in 1532, and judging from the fashion of wearing the hair, it was probably painted before 1535, when Henry VIII introduced the mode of having the hair cut short.¹

As a portrait painter, Holbein was the chief exponent of what may well be thought of as an international style of portrait painting of the early sixteenth century, which survived all over Europe until superseded by the mature Venetian style. Bartolomeo Veneto in several of his pictures may be taken as an example of the Venetian phase of this style; the Clouets of the Flemish-French phase; and Cranach and Holbein of the German. In technical methods and in general procedure, this style derived from the all-pervading influence of the Van Eycks and their followers of the fifteenth century in Flanders; in fact, from the technical point of view, a very large part of the portrait painting of the end of the fifteenth century as well as of the early part of the sixteenth century might be included under the general term of international portrait style. Thus in addition to northern portraits of the time, Antonello's, Alvise Vivarini's, Bellini's, Solario's, even certain of Raphael's portraits exhibit nearly uniform technical methods—to a large extent the same formula in pose and in lighting, and, allowing for possible slight variations in medium and handling, the same procedures as we find in the portraits of Jan Van Eyck. In the sixteenth century paintings the methods were practically the same as in the fifteenth, but the portraits were not so much mere studies of head and shoulders as in the usual Flemish or early Venetian portraits; they were typically half length, greater emphasis was laid on details of costume and other accessories, and a more complete pictorial effect was produced; also a more diffused lighting, often from the front, was substituted for the concentrated side lights.

It is to the technical methods and general procedure derived

¹ See Chamberlain, Vol. I, p. 330.

from Flemish painting that the beauty of surface and the power of characterization in the portraits of this international style are largely due. The paint was laid in enamel-like glazes on a panel covered with a white gesso ground. The whole performance was absolutely definite and deliberate, every stroke planned and calculated to play its part in the final effect; the whole composition was definitely and finally thought out before the painting itself was begun; there could be no corrections, no alterations. The portrait was painted on the basis of a drawing, made probably most often at a single sitting, a very thoroughly and carefully modelled drawing of the head, with slighter indication of the details of costume, and with notes on the chief colors and textures added in writing over the drawing or in the margin. This drawing was not ordinarily intended in any sense to be a finished picture; it was a mere record, often very expressive and beautiful to be sure, but made as a guide and note to assist the master in the working up of the portrait itself, which was painted without further sittings. The period of a few hours occupied in the execution of the drawing was a period of intensive study; the finished portrait was an expression of the painter's idea, of his mental concept of the sitter, finally achieved not at all by a process of imitative painting directly from the model, as in most portrait painting at the present day, but in a systematic, deliberate performance. The advantages of this procedure were that after the preliminary drawing, the painter's whole attention could be given to the design and the execution of the picture itself; and therein lies the secret of the convincingness and consistency of characterization, the distinction in design and the beauty of quality which so astonish us to-day in a portrait like this Holbein Musician. When Holbein was sent to Brussels in 1538 to secure the likeness of the Duchess of Milan, he was brought to the court at one o'clock in the afternoon and left Brussels for England that same evening, having in the space of three hours obtained all the information necessary for the painting of the famous full-length portrait now in the National Gallery in London.¹ There was certainly tremendous power and skill required in such a performance, but no magic. It represents the regular practice of painters at the time. The Portrait of the Musician must have been executed in a similar

¹ See Chamberlain, Vol. II, pp. 120-124.

way—in fact, its beauty as a painting and its power and convincingness as a portrait could hardly have been achieved in any other way. The imagination, as well as the observation and the memory, involved in this procedure was fundamental.

“UGOLINO LORENZETTI”: PART ONE • BY BERNARD BERENSON

THE Fogg Museum of Harvard University has recently acquired a large Trecento picture which represents the Nativity of Our Lord (Plate). As a work of art, it appeals to the initiated by qualities which make it a masterpiece of Medieval Siena. As a problem in connoisseurship, it is interesting enough to stimulate the student to the exercise of all his faculties.

To begin with, we must make acquaintance with the aspect and character of the painting. We shall then examine and cross-examine the evidence it offers of its own origin and kinship. After which, it will be in order to look abroad for other works by the same hand. If we find a sufficient number we shall try to reconstruct the artistic personality of their author, and to determine how he was related to his contemporaries.

I

Before a cave, half masked by a Gothic pavilion, sits the stately and placid Mother of Our Lord, with wrists crossed over her lap. She receives the homage of an eager shepherd who falls at her feet. Doing this, he blocks the entrance to the right, so that of his companion we see only a gesticulating hand. Opposite sits Joseph thinking his own thoughts. Between them stand the basin and ewer for washing the Holy Child, and the Holy Child himself lies swaddled in the manger with the pious ox and ass putting their sentimental heads together over Him. Up above under the low ceilings of the toy edifice, in the midst of cherubim and lovely angels in adoration, the Eternal appears sending down His Spirit, the Dove, upon the Blessed Infant.

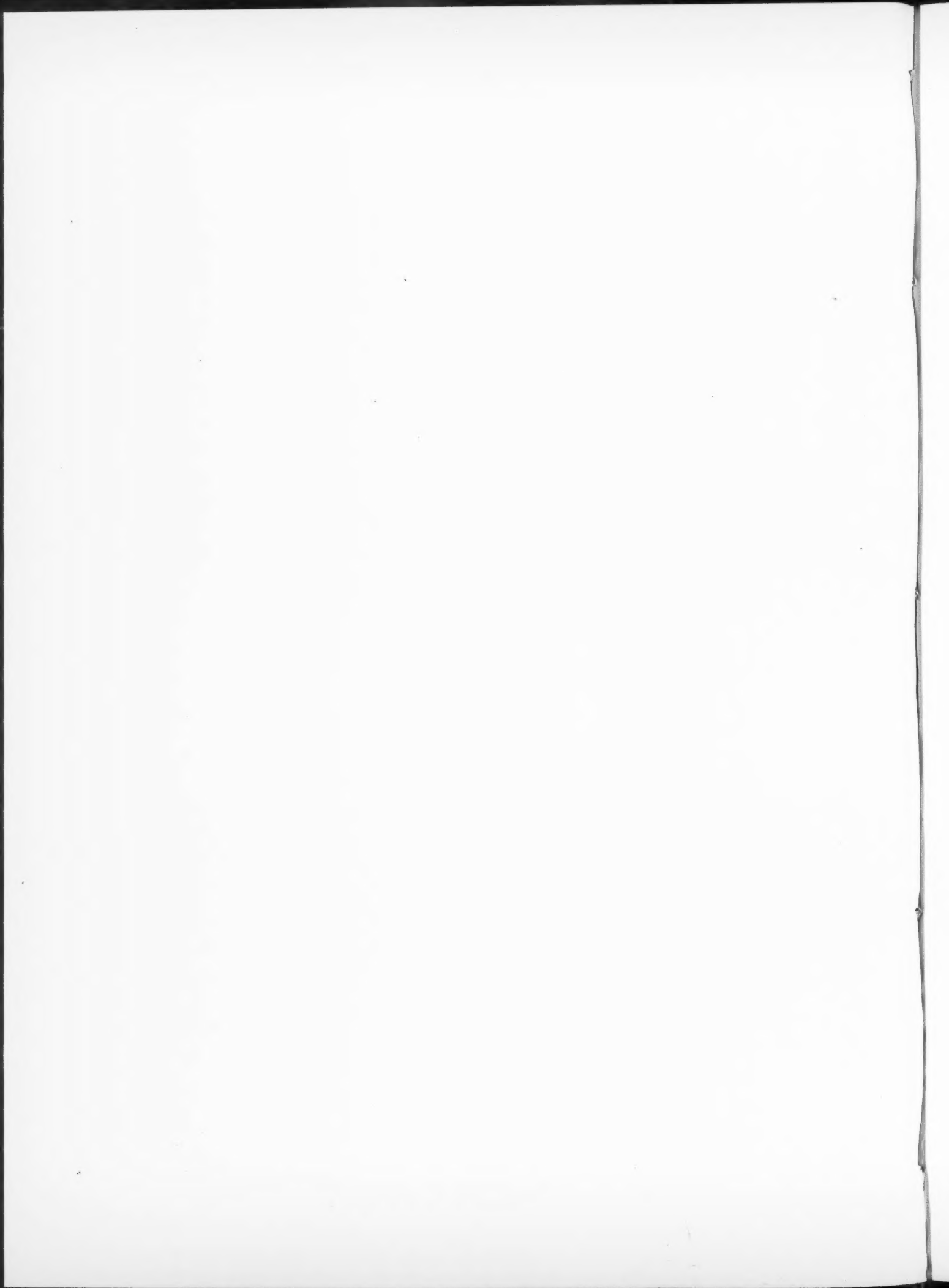
Such in brief is what is presented to our eyes. It is no ordinary treatment of the subject. Theology and ritual must have dictated some of it—the Theophany undoubtedly. But what of the Holy Virgin? She does not lie as usual, reclining on a couch a little

to one side of the action, which, in early treatments of the Nativity, always centers close about the Child, but sits almost enthroned as the most prominent figure of the drama. The shepherd gazes at her with a yearning ardor most unusual, as if it were she alone he had come to worship; and for the nonce, neither of them seems to think of turning to the Babe. It is hard to account for a design so out of the common run, unless it was mere Mariolatry, the tide of which, after more than a century of Franciscan propaganda, was then nearly full. For my part, I can recall nothing exactly like it in the Italian painting of the time. And unique too, so far as I can remember, is this manifestation of the Eternal with His Spirit, instead of the star, descending upon the Child. Was this too inspired by the Franciscan passion for realizing Christianity in the simplest human terms, and with human shapes? Or was the whole scene inspired by the fresh recollection of some Christmas miracle play which the painter had just witnessed? This would help to explain the action of the shepherd and the flimsiness of the architecture, but scarcely to account for the Theophany, seeing how unlikely it is that at so early a date they had the means for staging it. And what about the dramatic hand, all that is visible of the other shepherd? So unprecedented and unexpected is such an innovation that I am led to ask whether this Nativity did not form the central part of a triptych like Pietro Lorenzetti's Birth of the Virgin, wherein flanking panels continued the scene so that the figure owning the hand appeared on the right. Even this would be original enough.

We ask questions like these not to answer them—a task which must be left to the special student of Medieval theology, thought, and life—but to draw attention to what is unusual in the picture regarded as illustration. Leaving all that now and turning to what in my vocabulary I have called "Decoration," we cannot expect that side of the work to be so full of peculiarities, for the simple reason that decoration offers much less scope for originality. In decoration, quality is nearly everything, and individuality nearly nothing, counting seldom, indeed, for more than mere novelty—an element in itself seductive and alluring, but of fugitive and evanescent effect. Bearing in mind that this Nativity is Sienese, and, as we shall see presently, of a date not later than 1340 and perhaps earlier, there



"UCOLINO LORENZETTI": NATIVITY OF OUR LORD
FOGG MUSEUM OF ART, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.



are three elements only in its quality which may be counted as individual and characteristic of its author.

In the first place, the tonality is neither the silvery one of Duccio nor the golden one of Simone Martini, and still less is it the opaque grayish-greenish one of the followers who hovered between these two chiefs of the school. The tonality of our Nativity is a thing apart, a work of rich and satisfying coloring, strong and soft, a sort of orange brown out of which flash and sparkle beautiful blues and grape purples.

In the next place, I find that the Madonna is more massive, more monumental, more compact than Sienese works of that time were wont to be. Her drapery is simpler and more severe. I should never mistake her for a Florentine figure, and yet she almost has the tactile values of one. Finally, the arabesque of ductile and fluent lines formed by the contours and draperies of the shepherd is rare in art so early. Contrasting with the immobile gravity of the Virgin, it anticipates the ecstatic and swift style of a romantic painter of two whole generations later, Lorenzo Monaco.

Apart, however, from any question of originality, this work, for its qualities of composition, drawing, modeling and technique, deserves a place with the most convincing, most impressive, and most sumptuous achievements of Sienese painting.

II

We are now sufficiently acquainted with the picture to begin our inquiries regarding its origin and kinship.

A process of elimination so rapid as to be almost as unconscious as the spokes of a swiftly turning wheel are indistinguishable, brings us in an instant to Siena as the school, and the fourteenth century as the period to which this work belongs. It takes scarcely longer to arrive at the probability that the period is the first rather than the second half of that century; but not so easily answered is the question of the painter's exact affinities. As for his name, we shall have to confess ourselves baffled and acknowledge that we do not know it.

The student to whom this essay is addressed need not have its Trecento Sienese origin proved to him, for that will be as manifest

to him as to myself. He may, however, welcome discussion of the less obvious questions of close affinity, precise authorship and exact date.

Although certain features of the design recall Duccio and Lorenzo Monaco, in general character it approaches the Lorenzetti. Were the author an exact contemporary of Duccio, he would scarcely anticipate Lorenzo Monaco to the degree that he does in the shepherd. If, on the other hand, he worked as late as the last-named artist, he surely would not cling so close to Duccio as he does in the opening of the cave, the crossing of the Blessed Virgin's wrists, Joseph's action and draping which vividly recall the latter's small Nativity (Fig. 1), now at Berlin but formerly part of his great *Maestà* of 1308-1311. The angels, however, and the cherubim, as well as the Eternal, are so like to the Lorenzetti, as are also the floreated capitals and leafy cornices of the building, that we are tempted to ask what prevents us from attributing this work, which belongs to a period between Duccio and Lorenzo Monaco, to one or the other of the Lorenzetti, the two most formative artists of that intervening period.

We answer that we know no designs by Pietro or Ambrogio Lorenzetti which are at once so placid and so vehement, in which the pose and modeling of a figure are so compact and full of inner substance as in the Madonna here; and furthermore that although the types of the winged presences bear a strong resemblance to those of the Lorenzetti, they yet are not near enough for identity. To all of which it will be replied that this panel might nevertheless have been painted earlier than any of their other known works. The rejoinder requires us to ascertain, if possible, exactly when the Nativity was painted.

It is no easy task that at this point we are called upon to undertake, for as yet the study of Sienese art has been pursued too short a time, and by too few students, to have done further than the mapping out of the main outlines, and distributing the known materials more or less coherently among the various dominions and districts. A detailed chronology has scarcely been attempted and accurate results are few. In the presence of a painting like the one before us we feel the more baffled as, owing no doubt to some mere accident, this particular subject is so seldom represented among the Sienese

works that have come down from the first half of the Trecento that obvious terms of comparison are almost wanting.

We must begin with the composition and see whether we can ascertain when it could first have occurred to an artist to represent the Blessed Virgin in the Nativity off her couch and sitting up, as she does in our picture, instead of reclining, as we have her in Duccio and in all the paintings of Giotto and his anonymous assistants.

As, excepting our case, I can recall no representation of the Nativity in Sienese painting between Duccio's dating from no later than 1311, and such works as the small panel in Berlin (No. 1094A) and the fresco at S. Colomba, both due to followers of the Lorenzetti who worked no earlier than the middle of the century, we must look to the neighboring Florence. There, in the Baroncelli Chapel at S. Croce, executed between 1332 and 1338 we find Taddeo Gaddi's fresco wherein the Madonna is off her couch and almost sitting up. Bernardo Daddi, Taddeo's more exquisite and accomplished fellow pupil, treats the subject nearly in a similar way in a dainty and fascinating *predella* of about the same date, which now forms part of the Maciet bequest at Dijon (Fig. 2).

If we bear in mind that toward 1335 Siena was no longer ahead of Florence in invention and enterprise but lagging behind,¹ and if, besides, we take into account the fact that in the Fogg Nativity the Madonna is seated with both knees bent, instead of one only, as in the Florentine works, we shall not be disinclined to assume that our composition, in which she is farther from the stereotyped Byzantine posture of reclining, cannot be of an earlier date.

Now let us see whether more detailed evidence strengthens or dissipates this presumption.

It will be admitted that architectural features as well as household vessels and utensils, and indeed all things that have shape and pattern, such as costumes, stuffs, ornaments, etc., etc., are constantly changing, and that in the Trecento the change was from the simple to the more complicated, from the round to the pointed, from the massive to the slender and from the sober to the more ornate. To find out just when our Nativity must have been designed it should

¹ In that high achievement of Sienese design, Ugolino di Vieri's tabernacle at Orvieto, begun in 1337, the Madonna in the scene of the Nativity is still reclining. Without going the whole length with Adolfo Venturi (*Storia*, IV, p. 940), who would ascribe the invention of the various scenes to Ambrogio Lorenzetti, I agree that they must be due to no backward artist.

suffice to compare it in all these details with other works of established date.¹

But that is not easy, owing to the unfortunate fact already referred to, that the detailed chronology of Sienese painting has as yet scarcely been attempted. I shall not be expected to undertake it here. The discussion would lengthen out beyond all proportion, demanding a volume or volumes and not a paragraph. Nor am I ready to enter upon it, for while I have had the experience that gives me a sense of the period in a master's career to which a given picture belongs, I have not carried my analysis and synthesis far enough, to translate this sense into demonstrable propositions. Too much must not be expected.

Beginning with the architecture, we note at first glance that it is scenic and flimsy as never in Duccio, in his immediate and close follower (probably Segna) who worked at Massa Maritima, or in Simone Martini. Even when their forms are more ornate they look more massive, more compact and more permanent. They never introduced columns as slender and unsubstantial as those we find here, although one might expect to see them among the twisted ones they occasionally employ. To discover the like of ours, we must search the Lorenzetti, and there we find such an abundance that we can afford to cite those only which, being of inscribed or certified date, and thus beyond discussion, afford us just the aid we need in our inquiry.

To take them in chronological order: Ambrogio's panels in the Florence Academy depicting four episodes from the life of Nicholas of Bari, painted soon after 1332, have an architecture as unsubstantial, with columns as slender, as in our picture and with capitals and bases almost identical. The same in his frescoes of "Government" in the Sienese town-hall begun in 1338, and the same again, although more ornate, in his Florence Academy Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple painted about 1342. As close, if not closer to the columns, capitals and bases in our Nativity, are those in Pietro's S. Umiltà altarpiece in the Florence Academy, the inscription whereof, although renewed, is undoubtedly genuine at

¹ It should, however, be observed that in Siena at least the evolution was steady and logical till toward 1350 only. After that—possibly as one of the many consequences of the Black Death—began archaism, eclecticism, and syncretism, and nothing but a surviving simplicity of purpose and fine craftsmanship, and a saving ignorance of chiaroscuro and the oil medium, prevented the disaster that overtook Italian painting in general little more than two centuries later.



Fig. 1. DUCCIO: NATIVITY.
Berlin.



Fig. 2. BERNARDO DADDI: NATIVITY.
Dijon.



least as regards the date, which is 1341. And so, too, with Pietro's Birth of the Virgin of the Sienese Cathedral Museum dated 1342. His last creations—if I mistake not their chronology—the frescoes in the Lower Church at Assisi recounting the Passion, are more florid in architectural forms, and represent a stage beyond the one that the author of our picture shares with him and his brother. On the other hand, none of the examples quoted is quite as intimately parallel as the forms on Ugolino di Vieri's Tabernacle of 1337 at Orvieto. The impression I derive from the study of the architectural forms alone inclines me, therefore, to infer that this last is the latest date that can be assigned to our Nativity.

Among the conspicuous objects in our panel are the ewer and basin for washing the Holy Child. The basin, it will be observed, is polygonal instead of circular, as in Duccio and *all* earlier artists, but it is not yet hexagonal, as in Pietro Lorenzetti's Triptych of 1342, and in the gorgeous enamel of the British Museum which Adolfo Venturi (*Storia*, IV, p. 940) rightly connects with the studio of Ugolino di Vieri. In both instances the shape is further than ours from the round one which prevailed for centuries, and in Pietro the sides of the basin are decorated with Saracenic floral patterns—one of their earliest appearances in Tuscan art. Making due allowance for the relative backwardness of our painter, we need not hesitate to put the polygonal unadorned basin somewhat earlier than the one in Pietro Lorenzetti's Triptych of 1342. And the ewer is much less ornamented, less Oriental, and points to an earlier date. We thus encounter singular agreement with the evidence drawn from the architecture.

Costume, which so frequently offers clues to dates, affords little assistance here. The less reason for neglecting it. The brocade of the dresses, recalling certain Pietro Lorenzettis of the middle period and anticipating Bartolo di Fredi, and the coiffure of the angels can scarcely belong to a period earlier than 1330, while the rich embroidery that edges the Virgin's mantle belongs presumably to a later day, recalling as it does Pietro's Uffizi Madonna of 1340, the Virgin in Simone's Liverpool panel of 1342 and other contemporary works.

The conclusion we may venture to draw from such evidence as we have been able to accumulate thus tends to confirm, if only because it does not cancel, the immediate impression made by the Fogg Nativity of being a work produced between 1330 and 1340.

If we admit that decade as the one to which our Nativity belongs, the possibility that either Pietro or Ambrogio Lorenzetti was its author is excluded. Ambrogio in any event is not to be thought of. As for Pietro, while I could wish that we had a much more secure and detailed chronology of his works, we nevertheless have sufficient acquaintance with his career and style from 1320 on, to know that after that year he could not have designed the Fogg Nativity.

To exhaust possibilities, let us for a moment toy with the idea that Pietro, who could not have painted this panel after 1320, did it before. It is apposite to remark that in the Polyptych at Arezzo of that year all of Pietro's forms are stiffer, harder, tighter and severer than in ours. Note, too, that the columns that occur there, chiefly in the frames, are heavier and sturdier, and if it occurs to you to compare them with those in another Sienese achievement of the same year, Simone's Pisan Polyptych, and you find that they are identical, you may conclude that these were no expression of personal caprice but as much the fashion in 1320 among the frame makers of Siena as a certain tight skirt was in 1912 among dress-makers in Paris.

I suspect that, although the Arezzo panels are the earliest paintings by Pietro of ascertained date, we possess several pictures that are still earlier. It is an inference I draw from the fact that they are stiffer, severer and tighter, and because they are closer to Duccio. I will not dwell on the Ducciesque Madonnas at Castiglione d'Orcia and S. Angelo in Colle because they are ruined and not to our purpose. In Cortona, however, we have a Madonna Enthroned with Angels which affords terms for comparison (Fig. 3).

Nowhere else in Pietro do we see a throne so severely carpentered and angels leaning upon it or touching it in such patent Ducciesque fashion. The strip of embroidery under the Virgin's throat and crossed over her breast is paralleled nowhere else except in the *Maestà* on the figure of Pilate, before whom the Jews are accusing our Lord. The sparse geometric pattern which edges our Lady's mantle is also found only in Sienese paintings of Duccio's most immediate following.¹

¹ Only the simplest geometric patterns with great spaces between them are found on the borders of robes in such Ducciesque works as the Madonna at S. Casciano or the one formerly at the Monistero near Siena and now at Mr. D. F. Platt's, Englewood, N. J. In Duccio himself these patterns are even simpler.



Fig. 3. PIETRO LORENZETTI: MADONNA ENTHRONED.
Cortona.



Fig. 4. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": DETAIL FROM FOGG MUSEUM NATIVITY.

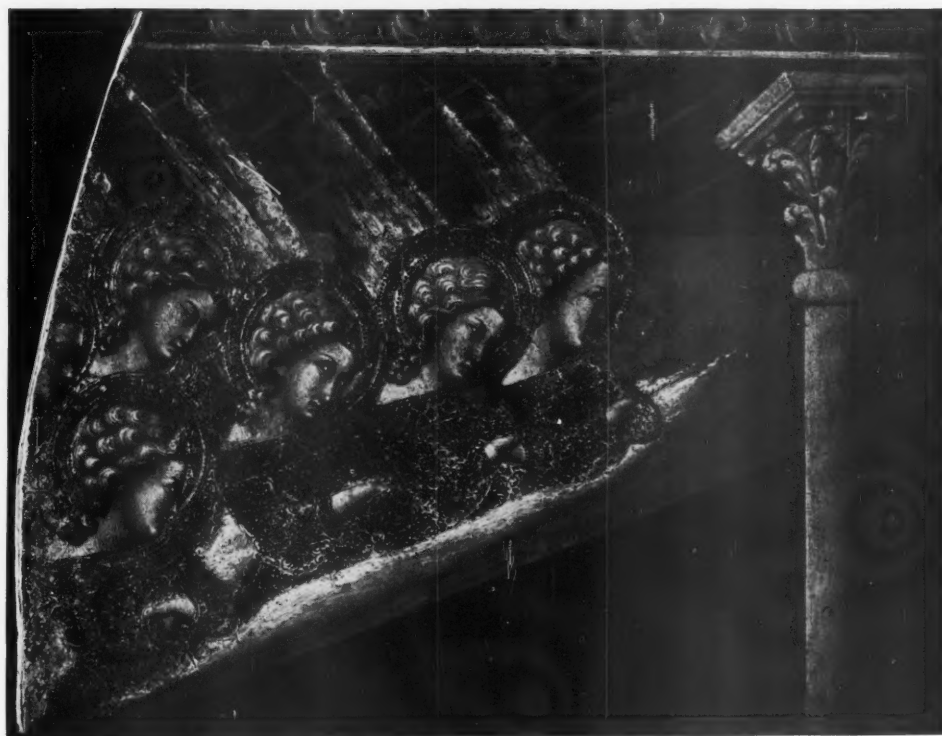


Fig. 5. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": DETAIL FROM FOGG MUSEUM NATIVITY.



Early in his career though it comes, and to be dated as early as 1315 perhaps, the Cortona Madonna is nevertheless markedly, unmistakably Pietro's. The types, the forms, the action are his: a Child more characteristic, ears more typical, he never painted. If the Fogg Nativity, which, although much less like his other accepted works, was his notwithstanding, we should, to account for the difference, have to put it back some ten years earlier still, to 1305 say, to a period before Duccio's *Maestà*: to make, in short, it contemporary with the incunabula of Sienese painting—which is simply absurd.

No element of the Fogg picture is at once more free from stiffness, archaism of any sort, and more gracious, more suave, more lovely, more, in a word, like the most advanced Trecento art as practised by Barna and Bartolo di Fredi, than the ecstatic angels with their folded arms, gorgeous robes and wavy, curly hair (Figs. 4, 5). They anticipate the most charming fancies of Francesco di Giorgio and Neroccio. It is not without interest to compare them with the angels in Pietro's works.

In the Cortona Madonna they show no advance upon Duccio and only a slight advance in the Arezzo Polyptych of 1320, or in the angels in the spandrels of the equally early Triptych in the Lower Church at Assisi. It is only in works of after 1330, according to my dating, like the Madonna at S. Pietro Ovile, or the one in the Academy at Siena (No. 80, photo. Anderson 21119), or the Uffizi Madonna of 1340, that we find angels of a type and dress at all resembling those in our Nativity. To discover their like for feeling and action we must go quite to the end of Pietro's career, to the fresco in the Lower Church at Assisi representing the Resurrection. The nearest in all respects is not to be found in Pietro, however, but in his close follower Niccolò di Ser Sozzi's well-known miniature of the Assumption painted in 1334.

I have argued against Pietro Lorenzetti's authorship of the Cambridge Nativity because it is the most likely to be proposed; but with the same method it would be even easier to maintain that neither Ambrogio, nor Simone, nor Lippo Memmi come into question. All of which will be more patent when we have made acquaintance, as we shall do, with other works by the same hand.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOSTON COUNTER-
PART OF THE LUDOVISI THRONE • BY G. W. ELDER-
KIN

SEVERAL years ago, when the Boston Museum of Fine Arts announced the acquisition of a marble relief which is now called the counterpart of the Ludovisi Throne (Fig. 1), an American critic, Mr. John Marshall, referred to it as the most important antique which had left Italy in the last century. Both reliefs were subsequently subjected to a searching study (*Jb. k. Arch. Inst.*, 1911) by Professor F. Studniczka, who emphatically repudiated any suggestion of forgery in the following words: "Solche Verdächtigungen scheinen mir ungefähr so glaubhaft wie dass die in Ägypten gefundenen Lieder des Bakchylides von einem hellenisierenden Poeten unserer Tage oder von Horaz verfasst sind."

But Studniczka's conclusion has not been accepted by the British archæologist Mr. E. A. Gardner (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1913), who, after studying the Boston relief chiefly in photographs, intimated that it was possibly a modern forgery made subsequently to the discovery of the Ludovisi Throne in 1887. His concluding words are somewhat distressing: "We need not confuse and contaminate our impression of the Ludovisi relief, one of the most simple, beautiful, and characteristic works of Greek art in the early fifth century by associating with it, as part of the same original design, the Boston relief, which, in spite of all its technical ingenuity, is full of defects and affectations such as belong essentially to a decadent and imitative age." This criticism provoked a sharp response from Mr. Richard Norton (*ibid.*, 1914), who defended the genuineness of the Boston relief with commendable frankness.

These conflicting opinions prompt the present contribution to the controversy, in which, however, it is not proposed to review the stylistic and technical details already discussed, but to present some new evidence confirming the antique character of the Boston relief. Before this is done, a brief description of the reliefs must be given. The Ludovisi relief in Rome (Fig. 2) and its counterpart in Boston are approximately of the same dimensions and similar architectonic form. They are carved out of a single block of island marble and consist each of three reliefs of which the two smaller are set at right angles to the larger. According to an excellent con-



Fig. 1. COUNTERPART OF THE LUDOVISI THRONE.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



jecture by Studniczka, they decorated the ends of an altar to Aphrodite. The larger relief of the Ludovisi Throne represents Aphrodite rising from the sea, assisted by two Horae; the smaller reliefs represent single figures of Aphrodite, one of which has been erroneously called *la cortesana desnuda*. The other is heavily draped. The larger relief of the Boston counterpart represents Eros standing between seated figures of Aphrodite and Persephone and weighing two youthful forms. The balance, now missing for the most part, was originally of marble and separately attached. The scene relates to the contest of the two goddesses for the possession of the fair youth Adonis. The lateral reliefs represent single figures, Adonis playing upon the lyre and an aged woman, whose action is the subject of a brilliant interpretation by Studniczka.

The stories are also found in literature. In an Homeric hymn to Aphrodite we are told that the Seasons of golden fillets received Aphrodite joyously as she arose from the sea and clothed her in immortal raiment. Of the controversy over Adonis, Apollodorus of the second century B.C. gives the only complete version. Aphrodite concealed the beautiful Adonis in a chest and entrusted it to Persephone, who became so fond of the child that she would not give him back. They appealed to Zeus, who decided that Adonis should divide the year into three equal parts, that he should pass one third with Aphrodite, another with Persephone and have the rest of the year to spend as he pleased. He chose to give his free time to Aphrodite, so that he spent two thirds of the year with her.

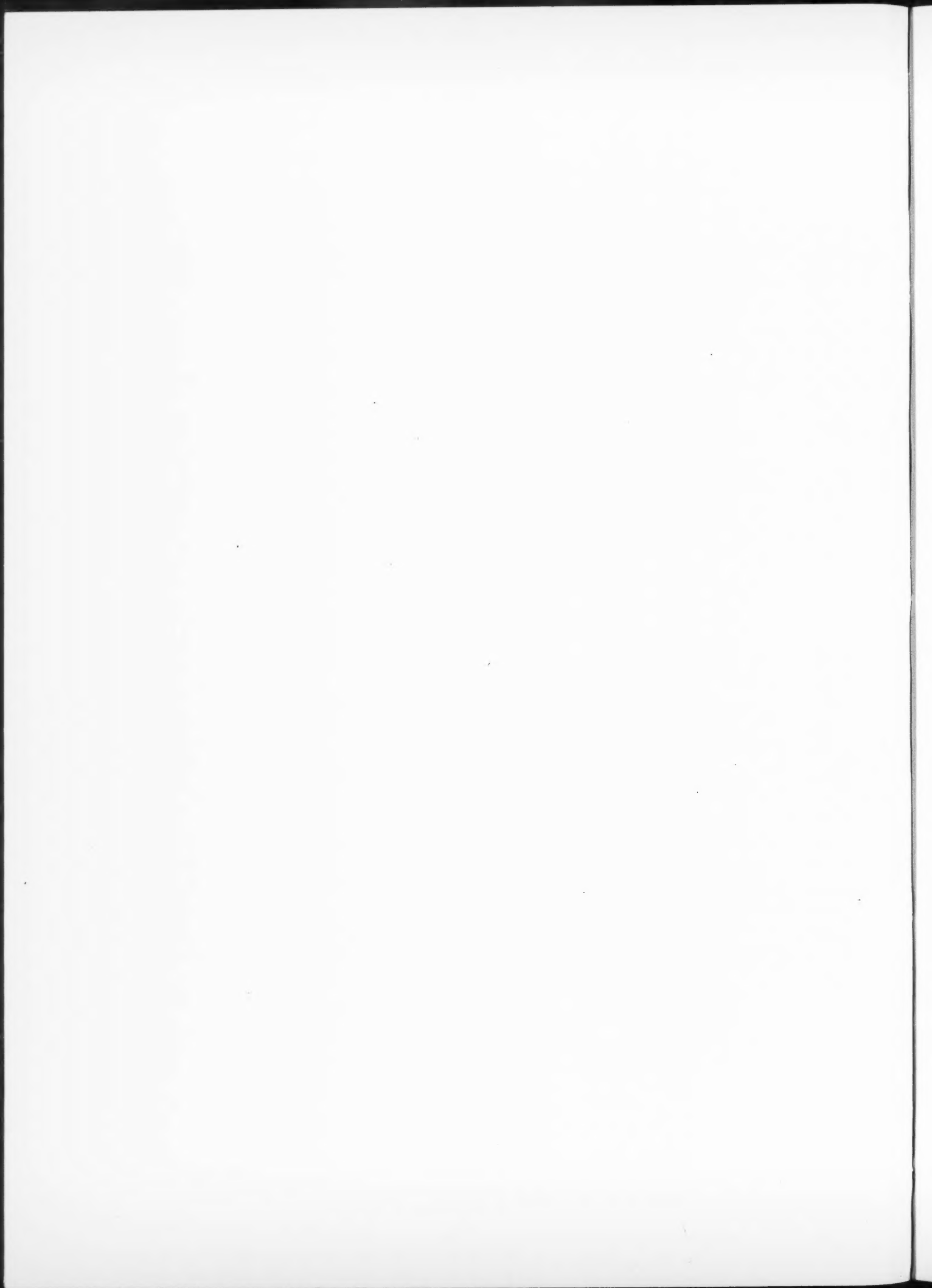
Turning from this literary version of the story to the Boston relief, we see that the sculptor represents Eros, the roguish smiling god of love, holding a balance, in either tray of which appears a diminutive figure of Adonis. The Adonis near Aphrodite is heavier than the one in the tray near Persephone. That is the sculptor's way of telling that Aphrodite is to have more of the time of the fair youth than is Persephone. These youthful figures, which are here for the first time called Adonis, incurred the criticism of Mr. Gardner because they do not conform to the scheme of psychostasis traditional in Greek art. In several such scenes (*Burlington Magazine*, XXII, p. 96) in Greek vase-painting we see Hermes weighing diminutive figures, the fates of rival warriors, if not the warriors themselves, but in the relief the rival goddesses are seated at either side of the balance. "How can their rivalry be symbolized by two

young athletes who balance each other in the scales?" So Mr. Gardner concludes that the relief presents "a mechanical repetition of a familiar motive by an artist who has not understood the symbolism that underlies it." It should, however, be noted that the warriors in the vase-painting are rivals, but not for another, as are the goddesses in the relief. There is an interesting vase-painting by Hiero, an Athenian of the first half of the fifth century B.C., which has never been cited in this connection (Fig. 4). On a cylix, Hiero has represented a dispute between Diomedes and Odysseus over the Palladium. Comrades have separated the two, who stand with drawn sword at either end of the group, each holding almost identical images of the martial Athena. There was, to be sure, only one Palladium, but Hiero wanted to tell that both claimed it, and so he represented it twice in the same scene. The same naive expedient has been used by the contemporary sculptor of the Boston relief. Adonis is represented twice because he was claimed by the two goddesses. The inclination of the scales towards Aphrodite shows that more of Adonis falls to Aphrodite than to Persephone. The other weighing scenes are martial in character and determine which of the fighting warriors shall die. For this reason Hermes *ψυχοπομπός* holds the balance, but the contest of the goddesses is one of conflicting love for Adonis and hence Eros, the god of love, holds the balance. Such modification of a traditional scheme seems natural and logical and not at all indicative of "misunderstanding of its symbolism." And furthermore, is the vase-painter's scheme suited to the character of sculpture? How could Aphrodite and Persephone be made diminutive figures and set in scales without losing their dignity as protagonists? The conditions of sculpture and vase-painting are not the same. In scenes of the birth of Athena, the vase-painter represented the goddess as actually emerging, a tiny figure, from the split head of Zeus, but every one feels that this traditional scheme of her birth was not accepted by Phidias for the eastern gable of the Parthenon, but that Athena there was represented standing before Zeus as in the relief on the Madrid puteal.

We come now to a matter of composition which has been strangely overlooked, and yet is a matter of great importance in strengthening belief in the antiquity of the Boston relief. Its composition is conspicuously Hellenic. The lucky side, according to Greek belief, was the right, and it is on the right of Eros that the



Fig. 2. THE LUDOVISI THRONE.
Museo delle Terme, Rome.



sculptor has placed Aphrodite, while Persephone sits dejected on the unlucky left. Furthermore, as the balance inclines toward Aphrodite, so Eros inclines his head toward the goddess—another sign of divine favor. He turns his face away from Persephone. The premeditated, the prescribed character of such composition is conclusively proved by reference to two contemporary works, one a famous painted cylix by Duris and the other an equally well-known pedimental group. Duris painted a scene of the award of the armor of Achilles which was claimed by Ajax and Odysseus. In the painting (Fig. 5), Athena, at the center, presides over the voting. On her right, at one end of the group, is lucky Odysseus, who raises his hands in delight at the result; on her left, dejected Ajax leans heavily upon a staff, his head wrapped in his mantle. Athena turns her face toward Odysseus in indication that divine favor rests upon him. The agreement in scheme between the vase-painting and the Boston relief is striking.

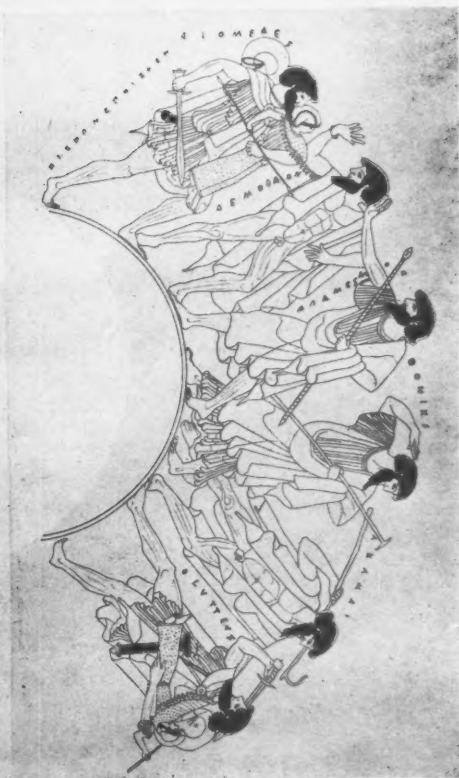
The central group from the eastern gable of the Zeus temple at Olympia is another illustration of the same principle (Fig. 6). The scene is the moment before the race between Pelops and Œnomaus. The central figure is Zeus, from whose sanctuary the race started. Pelops, who is to win the race, is again on the right of Zeus; Œnomaus, who lost the race and his life too, stands on the unlucky left. Zeus looks away from him toward Pelops, to show on which one of the contestants his divine favor rests. There are other examples of the lucky right, ranging from the archaic *poros* gable group representing the struggle of Heracles with the hydra, to the Alexander mosaic in Naples, but more need not be cited. The fact that the sculptor of the Boston relief observed the Greek positions for victor and vanquished strengthens belief in the genuineness of the relief. It ought to be noted among the *pros* and *cons* of Mr. Gardner's criticism. If a British archæologist failed to note the principle, what reason had he to believe that a modern forger would observe it?

There is yet another fact about the reliefs to be remarked. Their subjects correspond to those of the gable groups of the Parthenon. Just as the Parthenon erected in honor of Athena was decorated with the scene of her birth from the head of Zeus and her victorious contest with Poseidon for the land of Attica, so the altar erected to Aphrodite was decorated with the scene of her

birth from the sea and her contest with Persephone for the possession of Adonis. This correspondence is significant, especially since the gable groups of the Parthenon are only a few years later in conception than the altar reliefs. It shows that the artist who designed the latter was schooled in the schemes of decoration which were in vogue at the middle of the fifth century. And further, this correspondence tempts one to believe that as the birth of Athena was the subject of the eastern gable group of the Parthenon, so the birth of Aphrodite decorated the eastern end of the altar, while the scenes of contest in both cases decorated the western façades. Such arrangement places the nude single figures of sunny mood on the south side of the altar and the sombre draped figures on the north side.

There are minor features of the Boston relief which, taken collectively, confirm the conclusion, based on composition, that the work is Greek of the fifth century. The forms of Aphrodite and Persephone show a survival of archaism illustrated also in vase-painting of the transitional period. The body is shown in front view, the legs in profile. The youthful figures, carved in low relief on the solid cones of marble, which aroused the suspicions of Mr. Gardner, are shown one in full-face view, the other in profile, thus harmonizing with the front and profile views of the principal figures. This correspondence in position is neatly illustrated on an unsigned vase of the period (Fig. 3) representing the birth of Erichthonius in which appear two Erotes, one in full face, the other on tip-toe in profile, reproducing the poses of the more important figures adjacent to them. In the relief the youthful figures are on tip-toe, thus obviating a difficult foreshortening of the foot of the full-face figure. Vase-painters of the time resorted to a very similar expedient when they drew the foot as seen from above.

Another complaint is that Aphrodite and Persephone project beyond the edge of the field and actually rest their elbows and their feet upon the palmettes and scrolls which are no part of the figure design. Apart from the advantage that such projection serves to conceal the figures just around the corners, it should be noted that the Erotes in the vase-painting referred to (Fig. 3) are poised upon decorative spirals which also are no part of the figure design. There is an epic scene on an archaic vase by Aristonophos in which Odysseus and his companions are blinding Polyphemus with a great



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Fig. 3. GREEK VASE PAINTING. VTH CENTURY.
Fig. 5. DURIS: GREEK PAINTED CYLIX. VTH CENTURY.

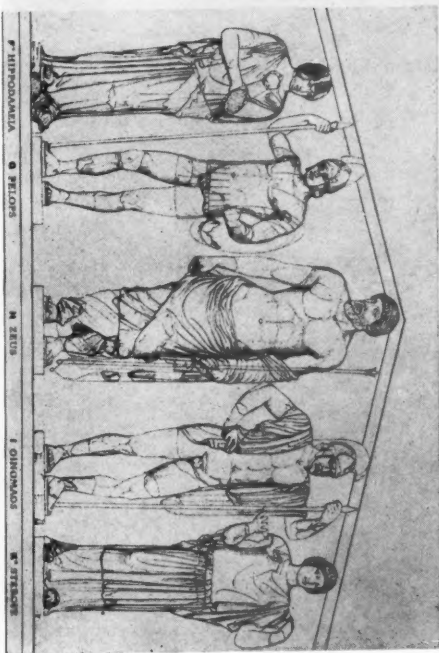
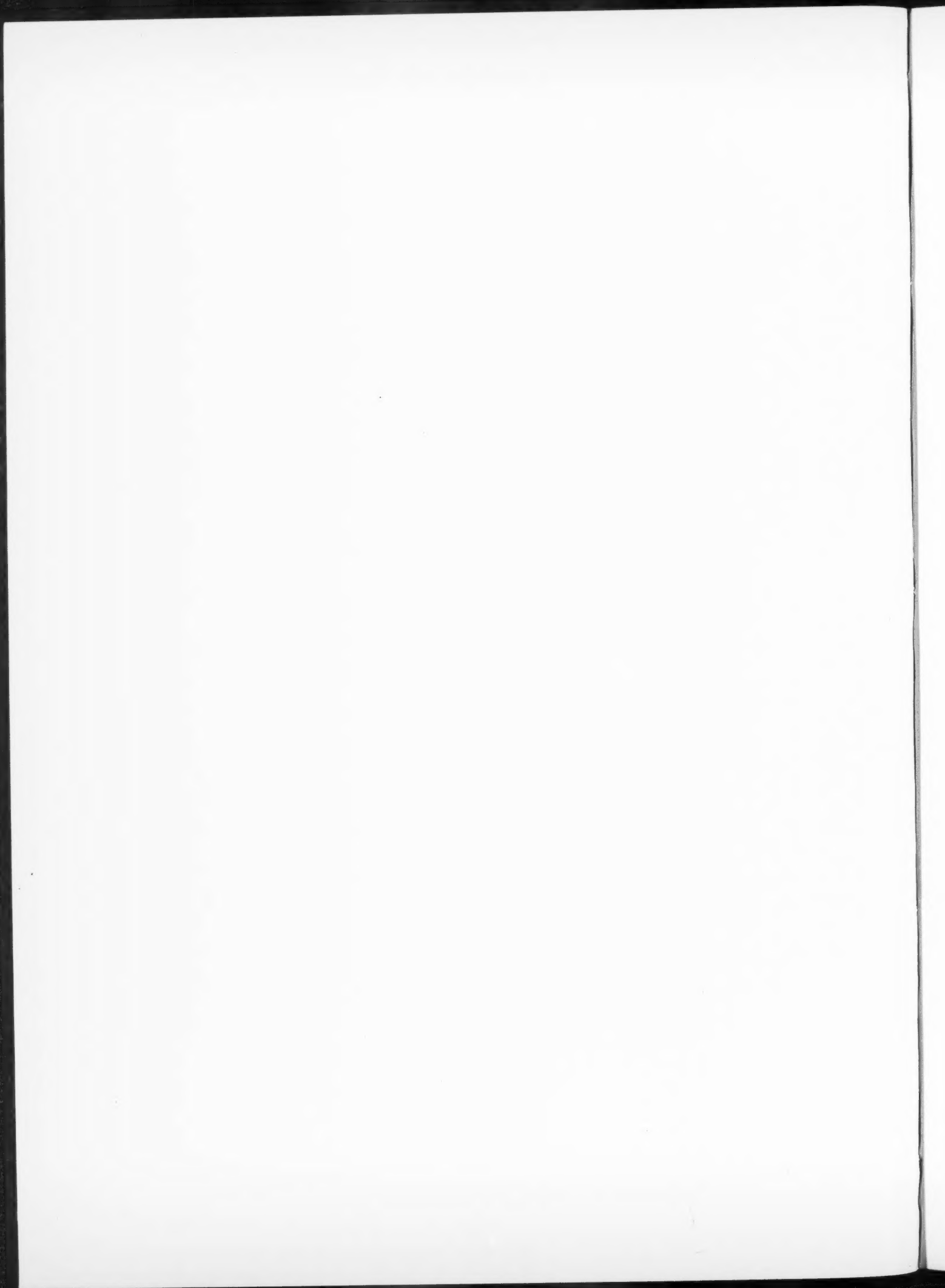


Fig. 4. HIERO: GREEK VASE PAINTING. VTH CENTURY.
Fig. 6. GABLE GROUP. TEMPLE OF ZEUS, OLYMPIA.

6



stake. In order to ram it effectually into the solitary eye of the giant, one of the heroes has braced himself against the border of the scene. Borders and border patterns are violated in one way or another throughout the period of the best Greek painting and sculpture. The scene of Aphrodite rising from the sea is finely adapted to its field, but it required less room than the figures of the Boston relief, in which the broad balance held by Eros forced the seated goddesses out of bounds.

It is the feeling of some who have seen both reliefs that the Ludovisi Throne is, on the whole, finer than its counterpart. That difference in quality, if it exists, merely means that two different hands of unequal skill produced them. One who has compared the wonderful figures of dead Macedonians, carved on the Alexander sarcophagus, with the hopelessly wooden form of a dead warrior in one of its gable groups is prepared not to expect uniform quality even in a monument of relatively small size.

One might note other symptoms of genuineness: the symmetrical three-figure scheme so popular in vase-painting at this time; the lyre with pegs for seven strings, which was the traditional number from Minoan times; the fish at the corner beneath Aphrodite and the chthonic pomegranate beneath Persephone, which are correct attributes of these goddesses; even the three rows of feathers in the wings of Eros, which are characteristic of contemporary winged figures. But the parallelism need not be carried further. The many heterogeneous coincidences between the art of the period 475-465 B.C. and the Boston relief are more valuable in the determination of its date than a subjective expression that the relief produces the "effect of caricature." It is very unlikely that a modern Italian forger could choose and combine into an harmonious whole the diversified antique features which have been observed in this relief, not by one but by several archæologists.

The larger character of the Ludovisi Throne and its contemporary counterpart in Boston is clear. They are anacreontics in marble, telling of Aphrodite and her love for Adonis. In the first strophe the sculptor-poet tells of the birth of the goddess; in the next a note of strife is sounded, for not without strife did she gain possession of Adonis even for a part of the year; in the third, which has the chill of the north wind, Adonis is absent, and Aphrodite, heavily draped, burns incense in the presence of old age; in the

fourth and last strophe, which has the sunshine of the south, the beautiful Adonis and Aphrodite play in each other's company, one upon the lyre and the other upon the pipes, and the strain is a Meidian glorification of youth.

TWO ITALIAN CASSONI • By JOSEPH BRECK

IN the possession of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts there are two Italian Renaissance cassoni of more than usual interest.

Furniture was not over-abundant in the period of the Renaissance, but however scanty the furnishings of the home, there was fairly sure to be included one or more chests. In the bedroom, particularly, a large chest was an essential piece of furniture. It served as a wardrobe for clothes and linen, as a receptacle for objects of value, and as a seat or table. Among the most beautiful of the Italian cassoni are the marriage chests which held the bridal trousseau. Painters, carvers and gilders lavished their art on these magnificent pieces, which were treasured in those days no less than now. The two cassoni which form the subject of these notes are marriage chests of the most sumptuous type.

The earlier of the two (Fig. 2) may be dated approximately in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.¹ It is richly ornamented on the front panel with low-relief modeling in stucco, gilded and elaborately tooled. A formal wreath design enclosing a medallion is painted in tempera on the end panels. The hinged lid, with flat top and sloping sides, shows traces of a floral scroll design painted in tempera. The back is also decorated with painted scrollwork. The style of the relief decoration indicates very clearly the Florentine origin of the piece. Cassoni of this type are notable among the masterpieces of fifteenth-century Italian furniture for their beautiful decoration. Unfortunately, surviving examples are not numerous, and a fine chest of this kind in splendid preservation may be counted among the rarities of Renaissance furniture. Except for a moulding on one end, a patch in the lid where a lock had been inserted, and a few minor repairs, the Minneapolis cassone is quite intact; even the shaped and bracketed front feet, so often missing from chests of this type, have been preserved.

¹ Dimensions: Height, 2 feet 9 inches; length, 5 feet 10 inches; width, 2 feet 3 inches.

The low-reliefs decorating the front panel and the feet are modeled in stucco or "pastile" composition, gilded and further enriched with slight passages of color. The ground is diapered with incised circles and dotted scrolls, and with leaves and flowers in low relief. The principal decoration, however, consists of a central group of four female figures flanked by candelabra with armorial bearings. The figures represent the four cardinal virtues: (reading from the left) Temperance, Justice, Fortitude and Prudence. The attributes are the familiar ones: Temperance pours water from an ewer into a vase; Justice carries her scales and sword; Fortitude is armed with buckler and mace; and Prudence carries her mirror and serpent. At the left of this group is represented a combat between a satyr and a fabulous monster, half lion, half man. Corresponding to it, at the right, is a centaur bearing on his back a woman who carries a cornucopia. It has been suggested that this scene represents the centaur Nessus carrying off Dejanira. One may doubt, however, if this interpretation is correct. The subject is scarcely appropriate to the occasion. The woman with the cornucopia is intended, more likely, to represent Abundance, while the centaur typifies Nature. The significance of the fighting monsters is not so readily comprehended, unless, perhaps, they represent uncontrolled passions. Possibly the two mythological scenes are to be considered in connection with the central group of Virtues as representing an opposition between the ordered Christian life and pagan license. The Medusa heads represented on the two central feet supporting the chest may be interpreted as guardians against misfortune.

The modeling of the relief is distinguished for its expressive yet delicate quality. Undoubtedly it is not the work of Pollaiuolo, to whom cassone panels of this type are often attributed; but it is the work of a sculptor of marked ability who reflects the style of the greater masters of his time. So far it has been impossible to identify with certainty the arms displayed on the two shields. That on the left bears a rampant lion, gules, on a gold ground (Davanzati family?). The shield on the right is blazoned gules, on two bends azure, five eagles bendwise (2 and 3), gold. This important cassone, one of the finest of its kind known, was formerly in the Davanzati Palace Collection.

The second cassone (Fig. 1) is a typical example of the finely

carved furniture of the best period of the High Renaissance.¹ Although the carving of this cassone is most elaborate, it is still in good taste, which is more than can be said for many pieces of Italian furniture dating from the sixteenth century. The cassone is of walnut, which has taken on almost the patina of bronze. The decoration consists of formal ornament, of masks, and of escutcheons to which ribbons are attached. The chest itself is supported by four lion feet.

In addition to the beauty of its design and execution, this wedding chest has the further interest of a known provenience and history, since it has been possible from the armorial bearings that form part of the carved decoration to identify the cassone as one made in 1514 for a marriage which united two Sienese families, the Piccolomini and the del Golia. Professor Lisini, the well-known archivist of Siena, has identified the arms as those of the Piccolomini and del Golia, and established by his researches that there were only two marriages in the sixteenth century between the members of these families, the first in 1508, the second in 1514. It is the opinion of Dr. Bode and other experts who studied the cassone when it was exhibited at the *Mostra d'Antica Arte Senese* held at Siena in 1904 that the style of the carved decoration agrees better with the later date. We may therefore confidently assume that the cassone originally held the trousseau of Donna Niccola di Giovanni di Guido di Carlo Piccolomini, who married in 1514 Daddo di Bernadino d'Antonio del Golia, bringing him not only her own fair self and resounding name, but also a dowry of three thousand gold florins. For beauty of proportions, exquisite refinement of design and skilful carving, it would be difficult to find a more attractive example than this cassone of Italian furniture of the High Renaissance.

¹ Dimensions: Height, 2 feet 1½ inches; length, 6 feet; width, 1 foot 11¼ inches.



Fig. 1. ITALIAN RENAISSANCE CASSONE. XVTH CENTURY.
Minneapolis Institute of Arts.



Fig. 2. ITALIAN RENAISSANCE CASSONE. XVTH CENTURY.
Minneapolis Institute of Arts.



AN EARLY FRESCO BY GHIRLANDAJO • BY G. H. EDGELL

IN the summer of 1905 Mr. Edward W. Forbes, director of the Fogg Museum at Harvard, purchased from Sig. Luigi Grassi at Florence a fresco of a kneeling Madonna (Fig. 1). It had been transferred to canvas and badly damaged in the process. In height the fresco is 4 feet $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches, in width 3 feet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The top of the canvas is a semicircular arch, but this was not the original shape of the work, which is obviously a fragment. A comparison with any Florentine Annunciation of the third quarter of the fifteenth century is enough to prove that we have here a Madonna detached from an Annunciation.

The Virgin kneels, a book in her hands, before a marble wall. Her gown is of rose red matched by a similar color in the marble behind her. She wears a mantle of pale ultramarine blue, lined with a delicate bluish green which is again repeated in the marble. Her hair is yellow. In front there are traces of a rose-red vase of flowers, and behind the wall one can make out the tops of trees and foliage, chiefly cypresses. All the colors are of extreme delicacy, the naturally low intensities of the fresco having further been lowered by the wear which the surface has sustained. Although the work has been much damaged it is happily unrestored, and what is left is at least the original pigment. The arrangement of the drapery is noble, the hands are delicately and sensitively painted, and the head is modeled with that thoughtful restraint which marks the finest work of the period. The whole, despite its unhappy condition, is an unusually attractive and sympathetic example of quattrocento Florentine art.

As soon as the fresco was loaned to the Fogg Museum the possibility of an attribution for it created much discussion. Though there was nothing but internal evidence to go on, the Florentine character of the work was certain and it was labeled "school of Verrocchio." Later it was associated with Baldovinetti, on account of the affinity which it showed with the Annunciation by that artist painted in 1466 in the church of San Miniato in Florence. Professor C. R. Post of Harvard then suggested an attribution to Ghirlandajo, which seemed to the writer quite convincing. This opinion was confirmed in 1914 by Mr. Bernard Berenson, who, without knowing

the previous attributions, pronounced the work to be by Ghirlandajo, and later, in a letter written to the author of this article, stated that it was the earliest fresco by the master known to him. The attribution was reached by comparing the work with the Madonna della Misericordia belonging to the Vespucci family, in Ognissanti in Florence, and with the frescoes in the Chapel of Santa Fina in the Collegiata at San Gimignano. The latter especially show the closest stylistic analogies to Mr. Forbes' piece.

The date of the San Gimignano works has been open to dispute. Vasari mentions them, but late in his account of the artist, thus implying that they were mature works. On the other hand, their style is immature, fresh, and immeasurably less pompous and more pleasing than in Ghirlandajo's later works. The chapel was not dedicated until 1488, but the ark for the relics of the Saint was completed by Benedetto da Majano in 1475. Since this ark bears an inscription bidding the spectator look upon the walls to learn of the life of the Saint, it is certain that the frescoes referred to must have been commissioned and probably actually executed before Benedetto completed his work. Practically all critics accept the date 1475 as approximately correct for the Santa Fina paintings, thus placing them among the artist's earliest works.

If we compare Mr. Forbes' piece with the fresco representing the Apparition of Saint Gregory to Santa Fina (Fig. 2), we cannot but be struck by the technical similarity of the two. Both have the restraint, the freshness, the directness which distinguish Ghirlandajo's early work. In both the planes are kept simple, and the colors have that low intensity but clearness and purity which reflect the art of Baldovinetti and, through him, of Domenico Veneziano. Indeed, the close kinship between Mr. Forbes' Madonna and the kneeling Madonna by Baldovinetti in the San Miniato Annunciation (Fig. 3) is one of the best proofs of the early execution of the work in Ghirlandajo's career. We may, therefore, safely attribute the work to Ghirlandajo, and date it 1475 or slightly earlier.

Only very recently the writer has learned the provenience of the painting. It was at one time in the collection of the Cavaliere Giuseppe Toscanelli, and was sold by him with his other objects of art in Florence in 1883.¹ It is attributed on page 18 in the sales

¹ The writer's attention was called to the mention of the painting in the Toscanelli Sales Catalogue by Miss Margaret E. Gilman of the Fogg Museum staff.



Fig. 1. GHIRLANDAJO: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Edward W. Forbes, Cambridge, Mass.

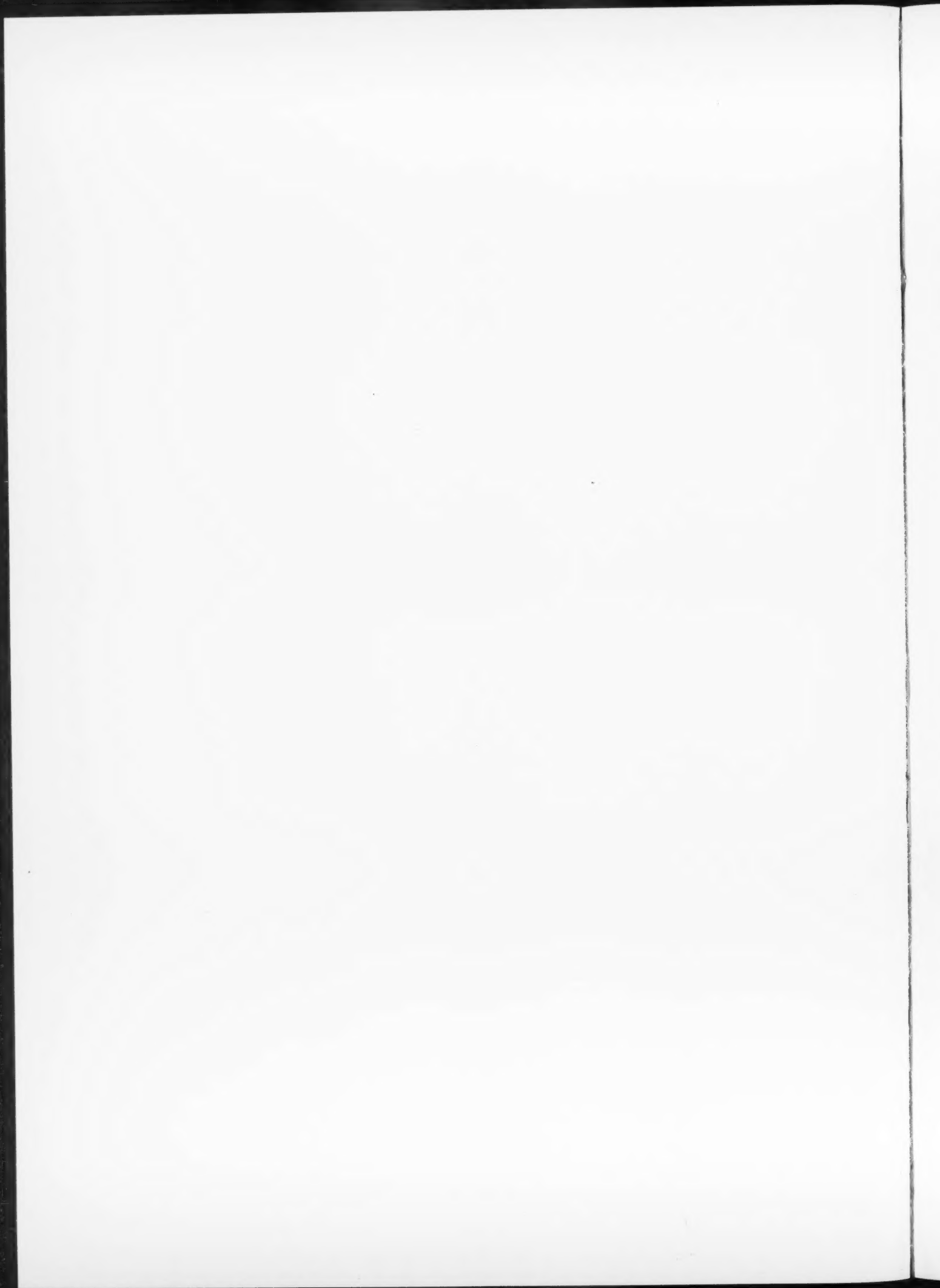




Fig. 2. GHIRLANDAJO: APPARITION OF SAINT GREGORY TO SANTA FINA.

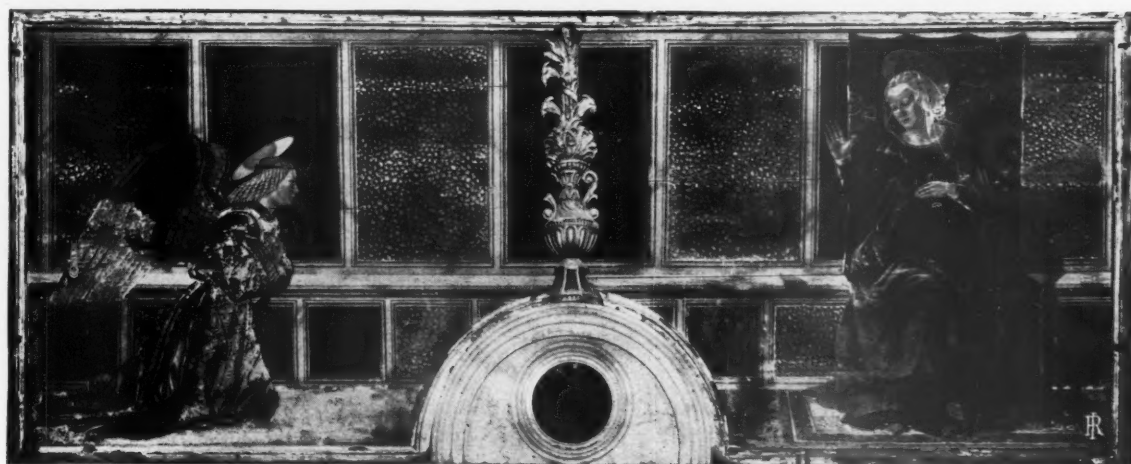
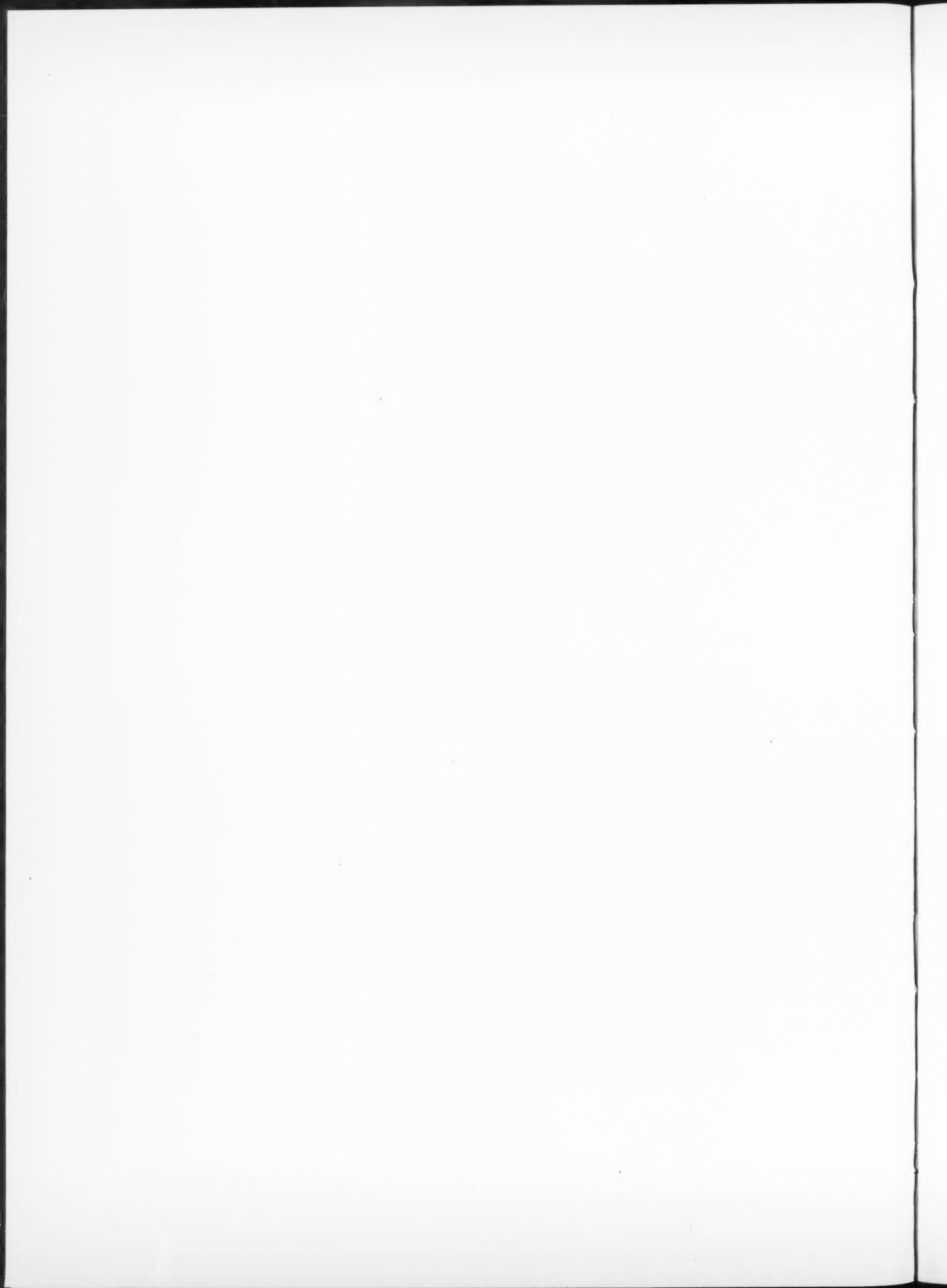


Fig. 3. BALDOVINETTI: SAN MINIATO ANNUNCIATION.



catalogue to Benozzo Gozzoli, and is described as follows: "Fresque qui ornait le dessus de la porte de la Villa Michelozzi, située près de San Gimignano. En la détachant, l'ange ayant été détruit, il ne reste que la Vierge. Figure à genoux de grandeur naturelle."

The attribution to Benozzo is amusing but explicable. Clearly, the Florentine character of the work was recognized, and it became necessary to attribute it to a Florentine who worked at San Gimignano. Benozzo, Ghirlandajo and Pier Francesco Fiorentino were the three obvious names, and by some sort of lottery the first was chosen. The discovery that the work was painted at San Gimignano comes, however, as an unusually happy corroboration of an attribution based purely on the internal evidence which unmistakably connected the work with the Santa Fina frescoes in the same town.

Mr. Forbes' Madonna is thus not only a beautiful work of art, but is of added historical importance as being probably the earliest extant fresco of one of the ablest and best known artists of the Florentine Quattrocento.

VAN DYCK'S PORTRAIT OF LADY CLANBRASSIL • BY W. G. BLAIKIE-MURDOCH

VAN DYCK'S position in the hierarchy of art is surely quite unique. For is he not the sole portraitist who, appealing greatly to connoisseurs, and accorded a rank of the highest order by them, is at the same time familiar and beloved with a multitude, taking but the smallest interest in painting in general? His works have stamped themselves on the British memory far more deeply than those of Raeburn, of Reynolds or of Gainsborough; while, indeed alike in Scotland and in England, there are literally countless people in whom emotion is evoked by the mere mention of the Flemish master, the reason being, simply, his close association with the most poignant episode in British history. To think of Van Dyck is to think also of the fate of King Charles I, along with the heroic and touching devotion he won during the Civil War. And when historians write of this devotion as having been offered to an unworthy object, they disclose a sorry ignorance concerning Charles's private life. Of course, he lacked the capacities which

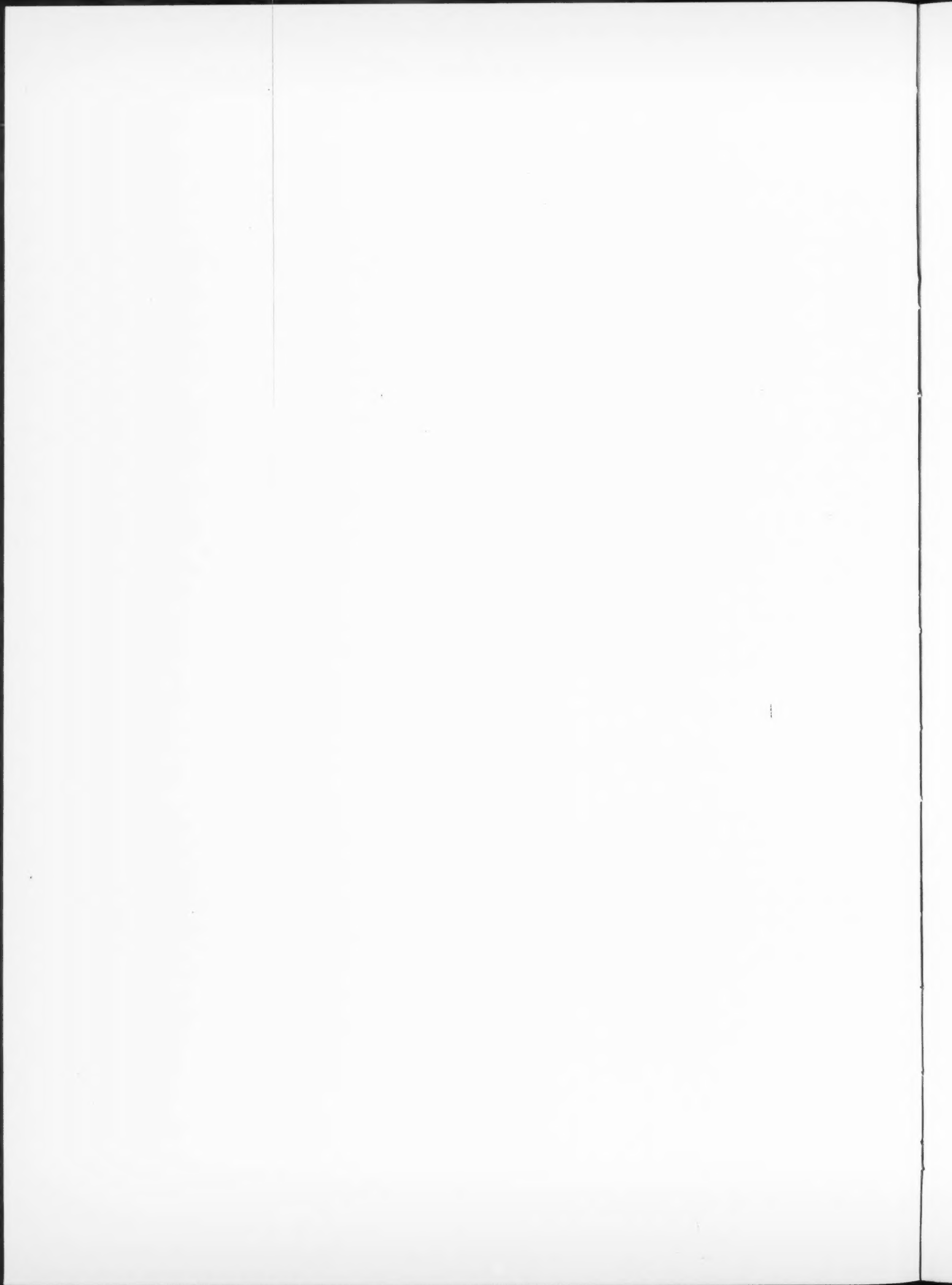
make a strong ruler, but he amply merited the loyalty vouchsafed to him, inasmuch as he not only loved art well, but strove actively to foster it in his dominions. Waiving the Earl of Arundel, who, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, gradually brought from Italy to England a fine gathering of pictures and sculpture, the martyred king was the earliest man in Britain to collect works of art other than portraits, his enthusiasm in this quest leading him to send his agents far afield in Europe. Tradition maintains that, when he was in Spain while still Prince of Wales, he sat to Velasquez for his likeness; and be that story true or not, certainly the friendship of Rubens was won by Charles, whose personal invitation it likewise was which induced Van Dyck to settle in London. This was in 1630, and it was five years later that the artist completed what is perhaps his grandest achievement—that equestrian portrait of his royal patron which now hangs in the Louvre; while it was in the following year, 1636, that he painted the picture of Lady Clanbrassil. Recently acquired by Mr. Henry C. Frick, it belonged previously to the present Earl of Denbigh, having been bought by his family at Christie's, London, in 1778.

Martial ardor and picturesque garb are what writers of history chiefly associate with the Cavaliers. But, in actuality, many of them vied with their sovereign himself in keenness of interest in intellectual matters; and, of those royalists who were distinguished in this way, a man who is remarkably interesting is Henry Cary, Earl of Monmouth. Like most British noblemen of his day, he made the "grand tour" of Europe as a young man, the rest of his life being mainly spent at his country-seat of Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, where he translated numerous books from Italian into his native tongue. It was this scholarly Earl of Monmouth who was father of Van Dyck's sitter, Anne Cary, wife of James Maxwell, first Lord Clanbrassil.

Van Dyck is often spoken of as the founder of British painting, the title being nevertheless scarcely exact. As early as the fifteenth century, there were numerous fine native portraitists in Scotland; while there worked there in the reigns of James VI and Charles I the very great artist, George Jamesone, showing Flemish influence it is true, yet bearing no resemblance to Van Dyck. On the other hand, it cannot be gainsaid that in England little good painting was done by natives prior to the coming of the Antwerp



VAN DYCK: PORTRAIT OF LADY CLANBRASSIL.
Collection of Mr. Henry Clay Frick, New York.



master, who, furthermore, heralded what remains one of the most outstanding traits of the English school. Holbein, active in the sixteenth century at the Tudor court, failed to enlist disciples; for he was essentially a critic of mankind, shrewd as Goya in Spain, De la Tour or Manet in France; and with their justly proverbial reticence, the English have ever shown a marked tendency to avoid criticism in portraiture. The Scottish painters, Raeburn, Wilkie and Geddes, were all manifestly concerned in the first place with setting forth the character of the sitter, betraying no fear of stating anything unattractive they might discover therein. But conversely Reynolds and Gainsborough, Hoppner, Romney and Lawrence—each appears to have thought of the creation of beauty primarily, the delineation of character only secondly; and this too would seem to have been precisely the attitude of their great forefather, Van Dyck. He was a courtier, always well-mannered, always a perfect gentleman; and, when called on to depict a lady, his spirit of chivalry inhibited his analyzing her temper: he bowed before her, as it were, regarding her in a sort of sanctified light, a creature whose failings, however discernible, should not be laid bare. Accordingly his studies of women are prone to be a little insipid, nor is exemption from this stricture due to the Lady Clanbrassil canvas. But it is rich in many of Van Dyck's noblest qualities, instancing as it does his superb sense for design, graceful draughtsmanship, and impeccably rhythmic handling of draperies.

EARLY ENGLISH WATER COLORS IN THE VASSAR COLLEGE COLLECTION • BY OLIVER S. TONKS

THE school of English water color painting of the early nineteenth century is well represented at Vassar College. In the list of names appear those of David Cox, Copley Fielding, Sir John Gilbert, Samuel Prout, Sir David Wilkie and J. M. W. Turner.

An excellent representative of Gilbert's fondness for the incidental and, at the same time, a typical illustration of his vigorous coloring is *The Sacristan* (Fig. 1). The treatment, distinctly Dutch in character, shows the artist handling the silver pieces with the same loving care shown by masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth century school of painting in the Netherlands. Even the Oriental

pattern of the table-cover recalls the rugs which appear so often in the paintings of Metsu and Ter Borch. The composition is organized with the usual care shown by Gilbert.

More attractive than *The Sacristan* is the *Bay Window* (Fig. 2), by Samuel Prout. The picture shows the corner of a Gothic house and a narrow street with people passing to and fro. Done in the soft browns and grays affected by the English School, the painting belongs in the list of market-places and other architectural subjects which made Prout's reputation. No better illustration perhaps could be cited for the solid coloring and searching drawing of the Early English School.

The most valuable of the group are the water colors by Turner. These are entitled *Berne, Bacharach on the Rhine*, *The Pass of St. Bernard*, *Sandy Knowe and Smailholm Tower*, and *Melrose Cross*. Of these, again, *The Pass of St. Bernard* (Fig. 3) is of peculiar interest. It was painted to be engraved as an illustration for Rogers' poem "Italy," in which it appears on page 16 of the edition of Rogers' poetical works of the year 1830. The picture in the Vassar Collection is noteworthy in that it bears testimony to the need of assistance felt by Turner when he was called upon to paint figures of animals or human beings. In the right-hand corner of the water color is a pencil sketch of a St. Bernard dog, signed with the initials of Landseer and most spiritedly drawn. Another fine drawing of a dog appears in the lower center of the picture. In the lower left corner is the ghost of a recumbent figure, drawn in pencil, which was used by Turner in the group at the center of his painting. This pencil sketch is signed T. S.—the initials of Thomas Stothard.

Even with these pencil sketches at his disposal Turner seems to have been unable, or at least unwilling to paint his figures with any degree of care. For that reason the engraver referred to the pencil sketches when these appeared to be more satisfactory. Thus the engraving shows the tail of the standing dog dropped instead of being drawn on a line with the profile of the back as in Turner's water color. Even the reclining dog is improved in the engraving by reference to the sketch. In the figure of the woman, however, the engraver preferred to follow Turner's painting rather than Stothard's sketch. As one might expect, the engraving is more precise in its handling of the background than the water color. Tur-



Fig. 1. JOHN GILBERT: THE SACRISTAN.

Paasov College Collection.

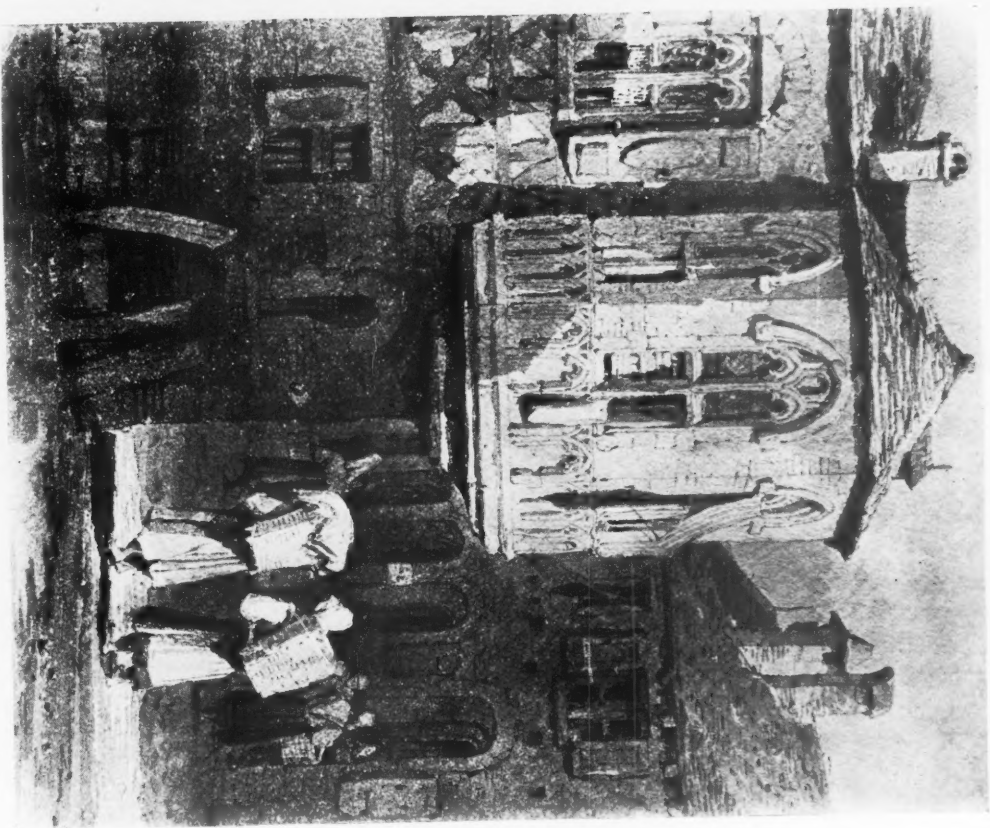


Fig. 2. SAMUEL PROCT: THE BAY WINDOW.

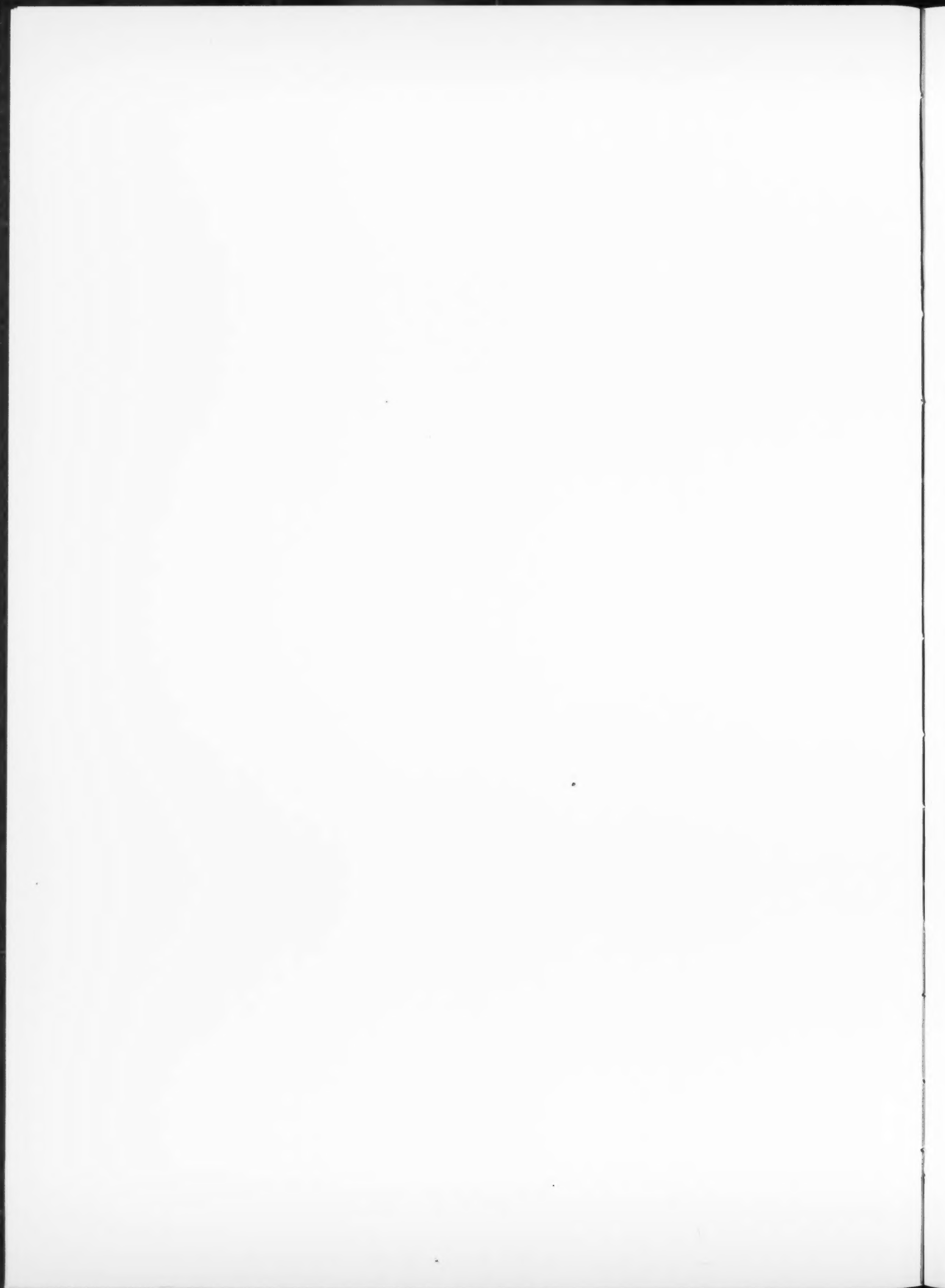
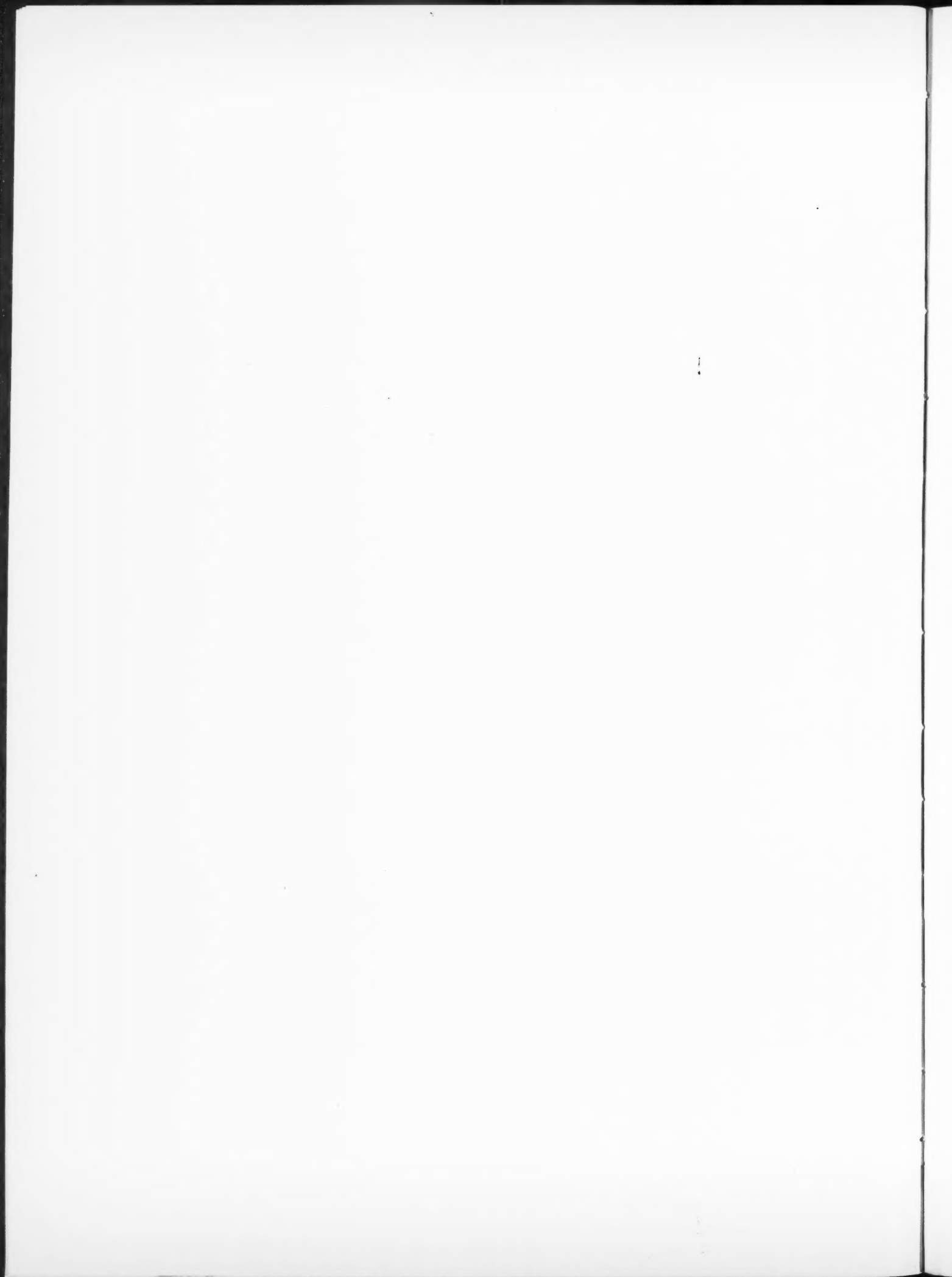




Fig. 3. J. M. W. TURNER: THE PASS OF ST. BERNARD.
Vassar College Collection.



Fig. 4. J. M. W. TURNER: BACHARACH ON THE RHINE.
Vassar College Collection.



ner merely suggested, in his inimitable fashion, the vast effect of the bleak scene.

The other water colors are not so easily placed in Turner's life. But one suspects that Sandy Knowe and Smailholm Tower may have been painted to illustrate Sir Walter Scott's poem, "The Eve of St. John," as it appeared in the 1852 edition of the poet's poetical works. At all events, if it was intended for that poem the painting at Vassar was not accepted, for that which appears as Smailholm Tower, p. 591, Vol. I, is taken from another point of view.

The same uncertainty obtains in reference to Bacharach on the Rhine (Fig. 4). This water color may have been painted during Turner's first visit to the Rhine district in 1819. This, as will be seen presently, while probable, may not be proved. Nor may it be shown whether or not it was intended as a book illustration. However that may be, the little water color is a jewel. Within a space of some thirty-six square inches Turner has created the impression of an impressive distance reaching to the pure blue of a remote sky.

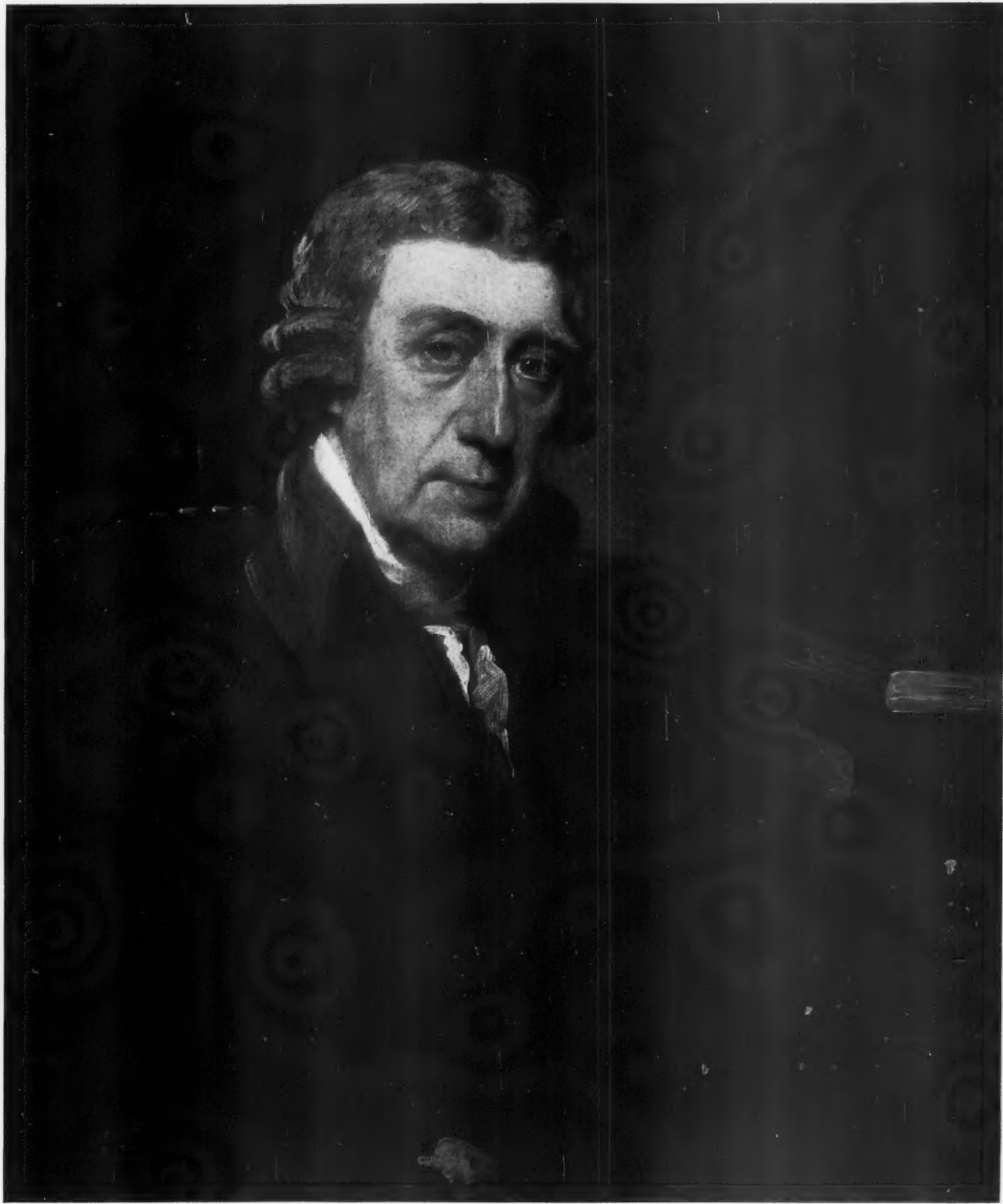
Sandy Knowe, perhaps one quarter the size of the foregoing, is blocked out in the unnatural but lovely color harmonies which the artist so well knew how to produce. It suggests the approach of that period in Turner's life when color was his absorbing theme and natural effect a negligible factor. It stands therefore in direct contrast with the more detailed and, apparently, earlier Bacharach. This is to be expected, for, if the latter was done in 1819, then some thirty years separate the two works. The predominating color of Sandy Knowe is a lovely blue.

PORTRAIT OF THOMAS DAWSON, VISCOUNT CRE-
MORNE, PAINTED BY MATHER BROWN · BY
CHARLES HENRY HART

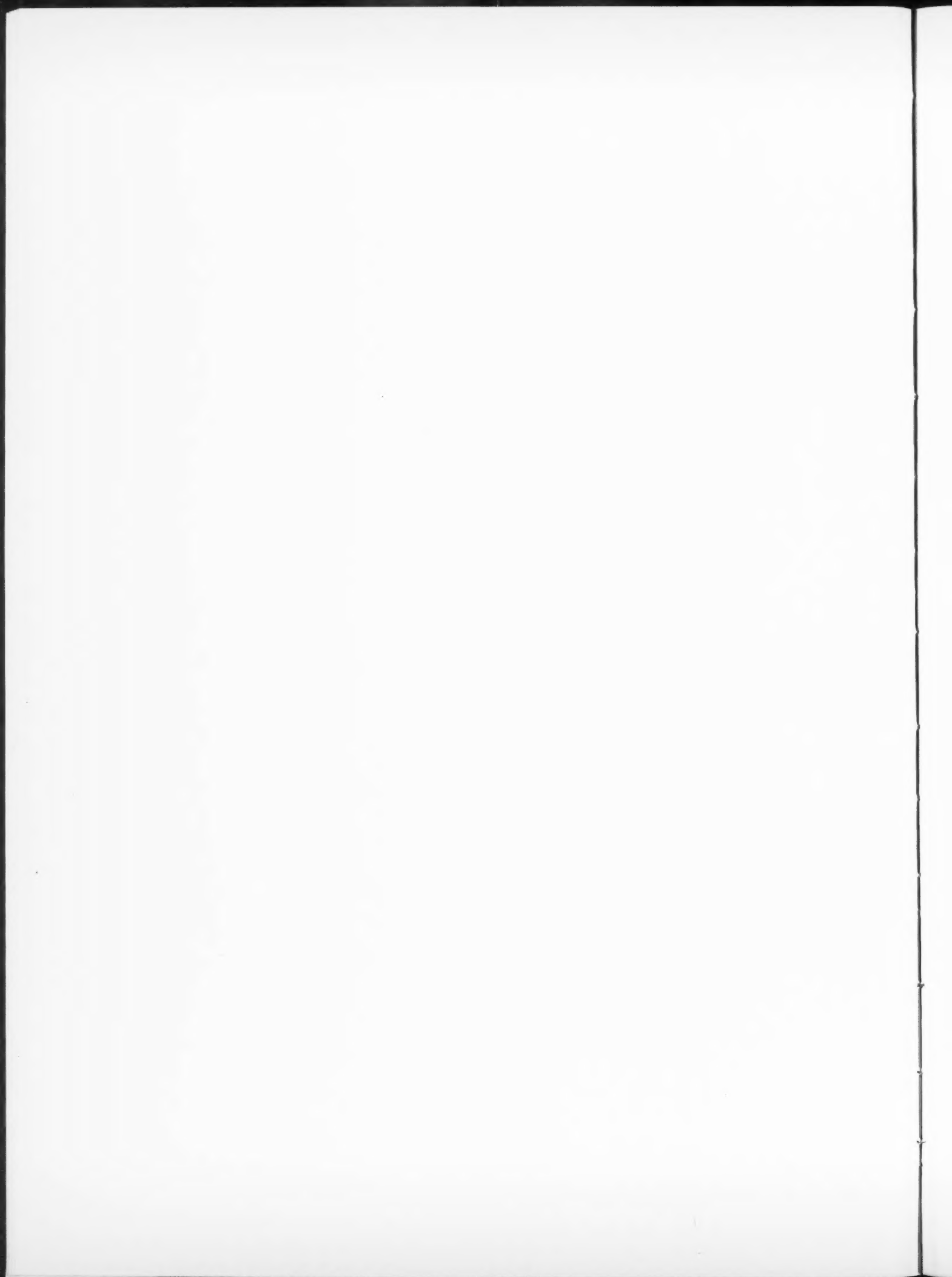
AMONG those Americans who in Revolutionary days sought an art education abroad and have remained since almost unknown to their fellow-countrymen and others in the art world, none deserves being rescued from oblivion more than Mather Brown, who had fair talent and just missed being a painter of the first rank. Nevertheless, he had sufficient facility with the brush to have, at this day, many of his portraits assigned to the hand of his country's master

portrait painter, and his contemporary, Gilbert Stuart. Indeed, they are even bought and sold and placed in private and public collections as the work of the latter. This of itself shows that Brown was a painter of more than common ability, even though the false attributions, as is the case, have little real reason or foundation. It is rather an odd and not very satisfactory way to be brought into notice to have one's own work attributed to another; yet it is chiefly by this means that Mather Brown and his portraits have been brought to the attention of critics and collectors. In the *Burlington Magazine* for September, 1915, the editor, Mr. Lionel Cust, Keeper of the King's Pictures and successor of Sir George Scharf as Director of the National Portrait Gallery, a notable expert, reproduced a portrait of William Harwood which he accompanied with a note giving the painting to Gilbert Stuart, according to the attribution of the owner, which Mr. Cust adopted on account of the general good quality of the work and similarity in some respects to examples of Stuart's early painting. The costume, however, was earmarked by Brown as his own as clearly as though he had signed the canvas with his name. That "signature" is a striped waistcoat, which I have found in many of Brown's portraits, and which was evidently a studio bit that pleased the painter to use for several of his sitters. Not that I mean by this to imply that the waistcoat alone determines the painter, but there is really nothing that I can detect in the craftsmanship of Brown that assimilates in the least with that of Stuart.

Upon reading Mr. Cust's article I advised him of my reasons for questioning the assignment of the Harwood portrait to Gilbert Stuart, to which he at once subscribed and gracefully printed my letter in the *Burlington Magazine* for November, 1915. Since then several other Mather Brown portraits have turned up as Stuart's. Jonkeer van Reimsdyk, of the Ryks Museum at Amsterdam, has an unfinished head of John Williams, better known as "Anthony Pasquin," attributed to "Gilbert Stewart," of which there is a contemporary engraving by E. Scott in 1790, with Brown's name as painter, and yet another later one by Bartolozzi. This portrait, too, has the striped waistcoat. At the exhibition of paintings by early American artists at the Brooklyn Museum in the winter of 1917 there was shown and catalogued as by Stuart an unfinished bust portrait of John Watts of New York, purchased by the museum authorities as a painting by Stuart, which is clearly an interesting



MATHER BROWN: PORTRAIT OF THOMAS DAWSON, VISCOUNT CREMORNE.
Collection of Mr. Thomas B. Clarke, New York.



example of Mather Brown. This canvas is painted in the same manner as the Pasquin and our illustration, the portrait of Thomas Dawson, Lord Cremorne (1725-1813), which is signed by Brown and was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1788 as "No. 85. Portrait of a Nobleman," which entry Horace Walpole has emended by adding the name, in his catalogue preserved in the British Museum. Cremorne married in Philadelphia Hannah Frame, a grand-daughter of William Penn; the portrait was sold at the recent Pennsylvania Castle sale and is now owned by Thomas B. Clarke, Esq., of New York, by whose courtesy we are permitted to reproduce it. No one knowing Stuart's art and understanding his method of painting, as shown especially in his numerous important unfinished heads, would think of attributing the Watts portrait to his brush any more than the Pasquin or the Cremorne. There are other portraits so attributed, but it is not essential to individualize them.

Mather Brown was American to the backbone both by birth and lineage. Born in Boston, October 7, 1761, he was the son of Gawen Brown, a noted clock maker, by his wife Elizabeth Byles, daughter of the famous wit and Tory clergyman Mather Byles, who was the grandson of Increase Mather, hence the family name handed down to the painter. His mother died when he was an infant, and his father soon marrying again, Mather was brought up by two maiden aunts, the Misses Mary and Catharine Byles, who were noted characters in Boston, where they died in the thirties, and for whom Brown painted his own portrait, holding a letter he had written to them, which they were proud of exhibiting to their friends with the original of the letter in the painting. In his nineteenth year Brown went to Paris by way of Cape Francois, W. I., carrying introductions from his distinguished grandfather to Doctor Franklin, as also to Copley and others in London. In 1781 he crossed the Channel and received instruction from Benjamin West "*gratis*, in consequence of the recommendation of Dr. Franklin." An obituary of Brown says: "His admiration of the talents of his preceptor, who was always kind to his pupil, amounted to idolatry." At this period Brown could not have been otherwise than on terms of familiar intercourse with his fellow student Stuart, and doubtless got some hints from him of greater future use than many he received from his master. That Brown appreciated Stuart's art highly and took his

work as a model is shown by a letter from him to Boydell, in the possession of the writer, asking for the loan of one of Stuart's heads that he might copy it; an endorsement notes that Brown was given for the purpose the portrait of William Sharp, the engraver. Before leaving America, Brown had limned some miniatures, but none of his work mentioned in the letter, which he writes his aunts from London, June 6, 1783, "I have entirely left," has been identified.

Many Americans in London sat to Brown for their portraits, including Jefferson and John Adams, and the Anglo-American Tom Paine. The whereabouts of the first named portrait is known, but the last knowledge we have of the other two is their exhibition in 1828, at the Boston Athenæum. Brown was styled "Historical Painter to His Majesty and the late Duke of York," and he painted, among others of the Royal family, a fine full-length of the Prince of Wales, later George IV, which is in the Royal collection at Buckingham Palace. A monumental whole-length of King George III, signed and dated 1790, was recently brought to this country, but it is not a very distinguished picture except for size and elaborateness of detail. Besides portraits, Brown painted a number of historical compositions, some of events in the Orient, such as the Marquis Cornwallis receiving as Hostages the Sons of Tippoo Sahib, which was engraved and very popular, and would indicate that he had visited the East. He was an exhibitor at the Royal Academy for nearly fifty years and died in London at his residence, Newman Street, May 25, 1831. He was not prodigal with his earnings and had laid by a competence that enabled him to live in comfort to the end. Brown's painting was usually dry, hard and precise, but sometimes it was quite free and mellow, as in the canvas reproduced, which is one of his best portraits, and his portraits give generally the impression of characterization as though they were true to life, though at times they are decidedly wooden and meaningless. Brown was unskilled in his use of color, which was cold and heavy, lacking transparency, and he cannot be said to have possessed any distinguishing quality as a painter, but he is an interesting addition to the American-born painters of the eighteenth century.

